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The Wall Paintings of the Thirteenth Century in the Church of the Saviour at Žiča

by

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Abstract

The Wall Paintings of the Thirteenth Century
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The monastery of Žiča, located in central Serbia, contains some original early thirteenth century wall paintings, dated about 1220. These show two scenes from the Passion of Christ -- the Crucifixion and the Deposition from the Cross --, also the figures of eight apostles and two angels.

The poor state of preservation of all paintings makes their study difficult. Nevertheless, the faded remains of the life-size figural images still convey to the beholder a sense of dignity and grandeur attesting to classical artistic concepts, for example the *contrapposto* stances of the imposing figures of the apostles, suggestive of antique statuary. In the Crucifixion scene the figures of the Virgin and the Apostle John display an elegance and poise that is intrinsic to Byzantine metropolitan art. The figure of the crucified Christ shows a sense of monumentality that possibly reflects a nascent stage of the new classicizing "monumental" or "volume" style of the thirteenth century.

During the Latin rule between 1204 and 1261, which severely upset the longstanding artistic leadership of Constantinople, the evolution of

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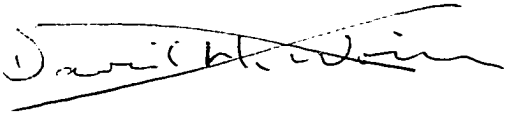
Byzantine painting towards the "Palaeologan Renaissance" is uniquely represented by a sequence of Serbian monuments. The first wall paintings to display a progressive version of the new style appear to have been created in Mileševa during the 1220's, that is nearly contemporary with Žiča.

The new classicizing features in Byzantine art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are said to have ultimately been adopted from a learned classical vocabulary of the art of the Macedonian Renaissance in the ninth and tenth centuries. The paintings in Žiča give a quite unexpected support for that reasoning: A specific arrangement of the figures in the Deposition scene demonstrates an iconographic scheme that had become totally antiquated by the thirteenth century, yet was common in the Macedonian Renaissance. Equally surprising is a barely legible inscription in the Crucifixion scene, also reflecting a past tradition. Žiča thus very likely is part of a deliberate revival of the Macedonian Renaissance.



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INTRODUCTION

Throughout its long existence Byzantium has never forsaken the Hellenic roots of its culture. Following times of political or spiritual insecurity, the constant awareness of the cultural achievements of antiquity periodically grew into self-conscious efforts of studying and preserving the ancient legacy. Such periods of retrospection were, for instance, the reigns of Constantine, Justinian, Heraclius, or the Macedonians. The last, and for the European West and East perhaps the most influential wave of reawakened Hellenism was the so-called Palaeologan Renaissance. Rooted in what has been called the "first Hellenic renaissance" of the twelfth century , the new humanistic movement gained in strength during the following century and became an inspiring force for Late Byzantine society, outlasting the political history of the Byzantine empire.

As a reflection of such broad spiritual movements the history of Byzantine painting is similarly marked by a recurrence of styles that suggest a renewed interest in the artistic heritage of classical antiquity. Corresponding to the revival of Hellenism during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a development toward classical artistic concepts seems to have intensified around the turn of the twelfth century, resulting in a major shift toward classical norms of representation in the course of the thirteenth century. A great difficulty for the study of Byzantine art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries arises from the deplorable fact that for almost that entire period no securely dated monumental painting has been preserved in Constantinople or Salonica, the two main artistic centers of the Byzantine sphere. Time and again

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the lack of reference to firmly dated metropolitan works for such an extensive period has led to controversies over the art historical position of monuments scattered throughout the vast cultural provinces of the Empire. For example, in the interpretation of the new monumental style of the thirteenth century scholarship has long been dominated by the impact of the mosaics and frescoes of the Kariye Camii in Constantinople (ca. 1315-1321), which became a point of departure in any discussion of the Palaeologan style and its origins. However, the tendency to consider the mainstream of thirteenth-century painting a mere overture to the great development in the fourteenth century certainly attested to an inadequate knowledge of the earlier key monuments of the monumental style. Repeated investigations following further uncoverings and restorations in more recent times have permitted scholars to recognize the evolutionary stages leading from the style of the thirteenth century to the Palaeologan style proper. Thus the development of particular qualities of the thirteenth-century style already neared its climax by the time Byzantium entered the Palaeologan epoch with the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, as the famous wall paintings of the Holy Trinity church at Sopoćani in Serbia (ca. 1265) demonstrate.

The lacuna in dated metropolitan models equally complicates a reconstruction of the early phases of the monumental style. True, Byzantine painting of the twelfth century is well represented by a few more or less firmly dated monuments found in regions that are as far apart from each other as Cyprus in the east, Sicily in the west, and Russia in the north. But, while certain qualities of the new trend gradually became apparent in some of these monuments already in the

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course of the second half of the twelfth century, the lead in its development after 1200 was apparently taken by the Balkan region, particularly by the kingdom of Serbia. Here, during the Latin rule in Constantinople, works were created in the fresco cycles of Studenica (1209), Žiča (ca. 1220), Mileševa (before 1228 ?), Peć (ca. 1250), Morača (1252), and Sopoćani (ca.1265) that clearly demonstrate the steadily growing interest in the use of a classical vocabulary and classical techniques for the rendering of the human figure. To a large part strongly damaged or reduced to fragments, these paintings still have made it possible to follow the evolution of the monumental style to its advanced stages.

Painted around 1220, the church of the Saviour in the monastery of Žiča stands chronologically halfway between Studenica and Mileševa and represents an essential key monument of the earlier stages of the revived classical style. Unfortunately, only a small part of the original decoration has come down to our time, and the extant paintings present unsolvable problems because of the poor state of their preservation. Still, whatever remnants of these paintings, they betray Byzantine craftsmanship of unmistakably high quality, but an attempt to attribute them to a specific artistic center or workshop proves extremely difficult.

The following chapter briefly reviews some historical reasons for the phenomenon that, for a certain period, a provincial and, in the Byzantine view, barbaric country happened to become the principal carrier and transmitter of mainstream Byzantine painting at a time when the center of Byzantine civilization itself ceased to exist or, at least, suffered a radical cessation in its function of setting artistic standards.

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I. SERBIA IN THE EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY: POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, AND CULTURAL TRENDS

Despite the brilliant leadership of the Comnenian emperors, Byzantium experienced a steady decline during the twelfth century.[1] Among the complex reasons for that decline was the persistent struggle of the Balkan Slavs for political independence. This struggle had lasted for centuries and had intensified as the Slav populations began to consolidate as a nation.[2]

For the Serbs, this longstanding struggle for political autonomy came to a final conclusion during the last decade of the twelfth century. The efforts of Stephen Nemanja, the Grand Župan of Rascia or Raška,[3] to free his country from Byzantine vassalage climaxed in a battle against the Emperor Isaac II Angelos in 1190. Although defeated in battle, Nemanja succeeded in attaining a peace treaty which in essence formalized recognition of an autonomous Serbian state by Byzantium. One of the important consequences of these events was the elevation of Nemanja's second son Stephen to the high rank of Sebastokrator and his marriage to a daughter of Emperor Isaac's brother Alexios.[4]

Following the final realization of his lifelong aim -- the sovereignty of his country --, Nemanja devoted the remaining peaceful years of his reign to two principal objectives: the organization of the Serbian state, of which he has been duly recognized as founder, and the building of the monastery of Studenica, which he designated as his burial place. Nemanja announced his abdication presumably in 1196,

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and took the vows as monk Symeon.[5] Somewhat later he joined his youngest son, Sava, who led a monastic life on Mount Athos, and died there around 1200.[6]

In the meantime, Byzantium's strength continued to deteriorate rapidly. By the turn of the century its authority in the Balkans ceased to be taken seriously by either its allies or its enemies. Since Rome possessed the right of coronation, the rulers of *de facto* independent states such as Serbia or Bulgaria subsequently turned to the Roman Curia for legal recognition. These approaches were received with great favor by Pope Innocent III, because they coincided with vigorous activity that he had initiated to spread Roman Catholic influence into previously Byzantine territories of the Balkans.

The example of Serbia illustrates how rapidly the prestige of the Byzantine empire in that country yielded to the preponderant Roman Church. Soon after their father had departed for Mount Athos, both Vukan and the Grand Župan Stephen acknowledged papal supremacy under the impact of Hungarian advances on Serbian territory.[7] The fact that Stephen turned for protection to the Roman Pontiff rather than to his imperial father-in-law attests to the dramatic change in the political atmosphere. In a letter to the Pope, Stephen commends himself as spiritual son and faithful member of the Roman Church and promises to send his representatives to Rome in the near future.[8] Such a mission presumably took place around 1202 when Stephen, having severed the last ties with Byzantium by divorcing his wife Eudocia, sought to obtain the royal crown as he saw himself endangered by an alliance between hostile Hungary and Vukan.[9] Pope Innocent initially had no objections to Stephen's request, but yielded later after a protest from Hungary.

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Vukan, who obviously had never given up his plans of sole rulership over Serbia, succeeded in driving his brother out of the country with Hungarian support in the spring of 1202. By acknowledging papal supremacy and Hungarian suzerainty, Vukan thus brought the entire Serbian state of Nemanja under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church, at least for a short period. Stephen regained his throne in the following year (1203) with the help of the Bulgarian ruler, Kalojan, who did not favor the Serbo-Hungarian alliance.[10] With a large army the latter moved into Serbia and defeated the Hungarians, thus forcing Vukan to withdraw to his dominion in Zeta. Although Kalojan disturbed Pope Innocent's schemes concerning Serbia, he remained personally involved in negotiations with Rome.[11] This course of events again serves to manifest the superior position of the Roman Church at that time. It also clearly demonstrates the fact that Byzantine authority had disappeared from the political life of the Balkans by the early thirteenth century. Consequently, the capture of Constantinople by the Latin crusaders and the collapse of the Byzantine empire in 1204 signified for the Balkan countries little more than ratification of an already existing state of affairs. On the other hand, the fragmentation of the Empire brought about a complicated constellation of new powers which very soon became mutual enemies and rivals in their aspirations to assume the role and image of the past Empire.[12] As will be seen, these new powers did have a strong effect upon the political relations between the Balkan states.

For some years following the fall of Constantinople, Serbia remained outside the focus of attention in the rapidly changing political scene. Grand Župan Stephen was able to restore the internal stability of

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his country within a short time after the internecine war with Vukan. A reconciliation of the two brothers occurred when the third, Sava, returned to Serbia from Mount Athos, bringing with him the relics of Stephen Nemanja. As the superior of the monastery of Studenica, where those relics were laid to rest, Sava contributed fundamentally to the unification of the population by founding monasteries and churches throughout the country. In this he continued the work begun by Nemanja decades earlier. The presence of the relics of Nemanja, now Saint Symeon, in Studenica, the spiritual center of Serbia, exerted a profound influence upon the establishment of the Nemanjid dynasty. It formed the basis for the legitimacy of the rulership of Stephen whom the saint had nominated as his successor to the Serbian throne. It was certainly Sava who, in sincere love and respect for his father, strengthened the authority of that rulership among the populace by publicizing the fact that Nemanja had, until his very death, regarded Stephen as the sole legitimate ruler over Serbia.[13] As a wholehearted adherent of Orthodoxy, Sava above all must have felt closer to Stephen than to Vukan because of the latter's strong ties with Rome.[14] The harmonious cooperation between Stephen and Sava, in which the future relationship between Serbian church and state already began to take shape, thus drew its strength from the reverence and love of both sons for their saintly father.[15] It was therefore not surprising that both initiated an intensive cult of Nemanja's relics, which was understood by Serbian people as a sanctification of Stephen's worldly leadership as well as Sava's spiritual authority.[16]

The concord between the two brothers was to undergo considerable strain as the country faced new external danger. The Latin

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emperors of Constantinople apparently pursued the aim of renewing in some form the bygone Byzantine suzerainty over Serbia.[17] Although Stephen managed to defend himself skillfully against the maneuvers of the Latins,[18] he expected greater difficulties to follow. To gain more security against attacks from the Latin East, Stephen once more in his reign decided to establish closer connections with the Latin West. This time he turned to the powerful republic of Venice. A marriage with Anna Dandolo, the granddaughter of the eminent Doge Enrico Dandolo, not only insured him against Venetian expansion in the Adriatic coastlands but unquestionably facilitated any eventual negotiations with the Roman Curia. A document indeed mentions Stephen's Venetian wife as the driving force behind his rather prompt intention to obtain from Rome the crown following his marriage and the renouncing of his Orthodox faith.[19] Alternatively, it has been suggested that Stephen aimed at the royal title not only for reasons of security or because of the influence of his wife, but perhaps because he may have felt unsatisfied with the title of grand župan, which, in his view, would not adequately express the status of political independence.[20] However that may be, Stephen's acknowledgement of papal supremacy and acceptance of the Catholic faith, which were indispensable conditions for receiving the royal crown from Rome, met with severe criticism on the part of Sava, whose entire world view and life itself were built on Orthodox belief. To Sava the external political threats seen by Stephen simply were not so imminent as to justify an official renunciation of Orthodoxy. The unyielding stands of both brothers soon led to a clash after which Sava left Serbia and returned to Mount Athos,[21] and Stephen sent his envoys to Rome. In 1217 he was crowned together with his wife at an unknown

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locality by a cardinal sent by Pope Honorius III, the successor of Innocent.[22]

Stephen had achieved unquestionable success by warding off various aggressions on his state, and especially by raising it to the rank of a kingdom. Nevertheless, the dissension with his brother, who obstinately refused to return, weighed heavily on his mind. Gradually he became aware of the great prestige which Sava enjoyed among nobles, plain people, and particularly in the monastic sphere. Moreover, he realized how strong the opposition was in the latter, and generally among the clergy, against an introduction of Roman Catholicism in Orthodox Serbia. And as to the broad masses of the population, matters concerning religious practice and church life were undoubtedly more important and comprehensible than astute diplomacy.[23]

Sources do not reveal the actual motivations that caused Stephen to change his course in a direction that soon reestablished the cooperation between the two brothers. Now that his kingdom was legalized, Stephen may have come to consider the advantages of an equally independent Serbian church, although personally he apparently remained faithful to Rome for a certain time.[24] But it may also be possible that Sava himself inspired that idea, for he translated it into reality with great diplomatic skill.[25] Prior to the discussion of that decisive step in the history of the Serbian church it seems appropriate to review briefly the state of the church during the period of concern.

At the time when the elder Stephen Nemanja established himself as ruler over Serbia around 1170 and began his struggle against Byzantium for political independence, the Byzantine church in Serbia had existed for over 150 years without any changes in its canonical

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status. Embracing the Orthodox areas of the country, it consisted of one bishopric that had its center in Ras and was subordinate to the Archbishop of Ohrid.[26] Just as had his predecessors, Nemanja left that condition unaltered. Thus it occurred that, while he was fighting against the Byzantine emperor for political freedom, the church of his country remained loyal to its canonical head and, consequently, to the same emperor.[27] It was not until after young Stephen's coronation in 1217 that the stage was set for a fundamental change in the longstanding status of the Serbian church. As shown previously, Stephen was for a considerable period much too occupied with problems of survival and strengthening of his rulership to engage in ecclesiastical questions. In submitting himself to the Roman church when crowned by a papal legate, he created a canonically impossible situation by subjecting the Serbian bishopric simultaneously to two different jurisdictions.

Meanwhile, the Latin Crusader empire began to show strong signs of deterioration after the untimely deaths of the Emperors Henry in 1216, and Peter in 1217.[28] The two Greek states of Nicaea and Epirus had at the same time emerged as surviving heirs of Byzantium and were both, with growing vitality and rivalry, contemplating an eventual restoration of the Byzantine empire. More and more, especially in the eyes of the Slav rulers, the emperor and the patriarch in Nicaea became recognized as the true successors of the Byzantine imperial throne and the supreme representative of Orthodoxy, respectively. The Nicaeans in turn welcomed a rapprochement with the Balkan states as potential allies against both the Latin empire and the principality of Epirus.[29]

The political struggle for hegemony between the two Greek states was accompanied by an equally sharp antagonism between their

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churches.[30] Perhaps reckoning with the fact that a further subordination of the Serbian bishopric to Ohrid would inevitably lead to a political dependence on the powerful neighbor state of Epirus, Stephen might have drawn the conclusion that autonomy for the Serbian church would readily be granted by Nicaea. It was in Nicaea's interest to bring the Balkan countries into its own orbit.

Whether or not Sava complied with Stephen's interests, he left Mount Athos and went to Nicaea where, in 1219, he was ordained Archbishop of Serbia by the Patriarch Manuel Sarantenos with the approval of the Emperor Theodore I Laskaris.[31] It is generally assumed that Sava also succeeded on that occasion in obtaining from Nicaea formal autonomy for the new Serbian archbishopric.[32]

Returning to Serbia after a temporary stay on Mount Athos and in Salonica, Sava began without delay to reorganize the Serbian church. New bishoprics were set up in the interior as well as in the littoral territories. Their sees were usually centered in a monastery, since the proportion of urban population was insignificant at that time. Serbia's ecclesiastical center became the monastery of Žiča which had been founded earlier by Stephen and Sava.[33] At the height of this activity a sharp protest was launched against Sava by Demetrios Chomatianos, Archbishop of Ohrid, for replacing the Greek bishop of Prizren with one of Sava's Serbian clerics.[34] In his letter to the "monk Sava" Chomatianos severely criticized this "uncanonical act". He also accused Sava of other grave violations of canon law: first, by turning "somewhere else"-- that is to the Patriarch in Nicaea -- Sava ignored Chomatianos' superior authority in Ohrid which was the only valid one

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in all jurisdictional questions; and second, how could he ever have become an archbishop whithout having been a bishop?

There can be little doubt that these charges raised against Sava by his former superior, no matter how correct they may have been in their details, were dictated by political considerations. But it is equally obvious that the undertaking of the two brothers was no less politically grounded. They had finally reached their goal of establishing an autonomous Serbian church in a sovereign Serbian state, just as the chronicler indicated when he restated the priviliges and obligations of the new archbishopric as decreed in Nicaea: "...and he [the Serbian archbishop] shall be consecrated in his own land, for the latter is with God's help selfgoverned." [35]

Thus, around the year 1220 the winding road of Serbian history was marked by peculiar circumstances. The ruling king, crowned earlier by a papal legate, continued to profess his fidelity to the Pope and the Roman Catholic church.[36] At the same time the church of his country continued to lead its traditionally Orthodox life under the guidance of an autocephalous Orthodox archbishop, after obtaining autonomy from an Orthodox, yet extra-jurisdictional Patriarch. Furthermore, it was in this period that an event may have taken place which to some present-day historians appears doubtful at best. Not one word of Stephen's coronation by a papal legate in 1217 is mentioned by any Serbian source. Instead, they unanimously report a coronation performed by the Archbishop Sava in Žiča, in one case giving a date of 1221.[37]

The most extensive accounts again are found in Domentijan and Theodosije.[38] Although they are both in good agreement concerning Sava's role, they differ fundamentally as regards the origin of the crown.

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Domentijan lets Sava send one of his bishops, Methodius, to Rome in order to ask the Pope for a crown. The latter, "enlightened by the Holy Spirit", grants this request, and Sava then crowns his brother in Žiča with a crown brought from Rome by Methodius. The author clearly had some knowledge of a mission that appears in a quite different version in another source, namely, in Stephen's letter to Pope Honorius. Here, however, it is Stephen who as *rex coronatus* requests through his bishop Methodius the Pope's confirmation and blessing for his crown and country.[39] In spite of making such a significant modification, Domentijan, a devout Orthodox monk who wrote around 1254, nonetheless exhibits a deep respect for the Holy See.

The work of Theodosije, written late in the thirteenth century and leaning heavily on that of Domentijan, unmistakably reflects the growing latinophobia characteristic of the ruling period of king Milutin.[40] In his account of Stephen's coronation by Sava, Theodosije simply omits the mention of Rome that was made by Domentijan as well as the origin of Stephen's crown. All Serbian chronicles of later times then followed that version.[41]

In view of these contradictions in the Serbian sources themselves and their relation to the sources documenting a coronation of 1217, modern scholarship tends to reject the versions of Domentijan or Theodosije, as well as the attempts to put forth a double coronation of Stephen.[42] Advocates of the latter alternative, equally acknowledging the earlier coronation, nevertheless consider Domentijan's account trustworthy with respect to the mission of bishop Methodius and the absence of antagonistic feelings towards Rome within the Serbian church of that period[43]. Only such a respectful attitude towards the

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"great successor to the throne of those holy [Apostles Peter and Paul]"[44] may have inclined the Pope to give the unique permission to repeat a coronation of a king already crowned by a "schismatic" archbishop. Likewise, it is quite reasonable to assume that neither Stephen nor Sava would ever have dared to perform such an act without the explicit authorization from Rome, whose political power at that time was universally recognized.[45] An indirect proof for a second coronation is also seen in King Stephen's donation charter for the monastery of Žiča in which he decreed that "all kings who are willing to rule this land shall be crowned here, and here all archbishops, bishops and hegumens shall be ordained".[46] Could Stephen have issued such a decree, had he not himself given the first example by his own coronation in that monastery? [47]

Although not based on direct evidence, the belief is strong that Sava was the actual initiator of the negotiations with Rome which, after all, were conducted by one of his bishops.[48] But irrespective of the problem concerning the authenticity of a second coronation of Stephen, Sava certainly inaugurated a new era in the history of the Serbian church. The weak, and not always favorable, relationship between church and state during the long period of ecclesiastical dependence on Ohrid now turned into a strong and mutually faithful union.[49] Henceforth, the Serbian archbishops assumed the right to crown all Serbian kings, which significantly increased their influence in all political matters of the country. The church itself became the unifying center of state, dynasty and church by creating the national cult of the Nemanjids, who were extolled as the sole legitimate rulers of Serbia.[50] Particularly the cult of the canonized members of the dynasty had a deep

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and lasting influence upon the nation. In the first place this was the cult of its founder Stephen Nemanja, to which later that of Sava, the "Illuminator of Serbia", was added. Throughout the history of medieval Serbia this veneration and sanctification of the Nemanjids found its visual expression in monumental and icon painting, often reflecting ideas developed in the literary sphere.[51] Among these, biblical figures and events were used to allude to the life of the Nemanjids.[52] The cult of the saintly rulers was one of the main reasons why the Serbian church soon acquired all the features of a national church.

The immense popularity of Stephen Nemanja and his son Sava rested on the fact that both had contributed greatly to the strengthening of Eastern Orthodoxy which Nemanja had accepted for himself and for his state as the official religion.[53] And it was Sava who once and for all reestablished the legitimacy of this religion after the years of both his brothers' links with Rome. The development of Eastern monasticism, in which Nemanja and Sava were actively involved, gave further strength to Orthodoxy in Serbia. Both men had lived for some time on Mount Athos where they founded the Serbian monastery of Chilandar. Sava adopted the so-called typicon of the monastery of Our Lady Euergetis in Constantinople as the basic rule not only for that monastery but, thereafter, also for Studenica, from where it subsequently spread to all the other royal foundations of Serbia.[54]

Despite their fervent confession of Orthodoxy, neither Nemanja nor Sava displayed any hostile feelings towards the Roman Church. Nemanja not only tolerated the Catholics, a significant number of whom lived in his state, but even supported them actively and maintained friendly relations with the Roman Curia.[55] And Domentijan certainly

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presented Sava correctly as a person with a sincere respect for the Holy See. It is known that the Serbian archbishop did not avoid contacts with Greek hierarchs and monasteries standing under Latin rule.[56] This curious compatibility of the two spiritual domains reflects the peculiar position of Serbia in that period as a borderland between the Orthodox East and the Latin West.[57] A visible effect of such coexistence on Serbian soil was the development of the so-called Raškan school of architecture. Byzantine and Romanesque elements blended to produce a highly individual building style that, on the whole, governed Serbian architecture throughout the thirteenth century.

It would be misleading, however, to overstress the importance of this or that Western influence on the overall cultural framework of Serbia under the first Nemanjids. For several centuries, Byzantine culture in its various aspects had such a profound impact upon the Slavs in general that one may rightfully speak of the Slav family of nations as representing a Byzantine Commonwealth.[58] To be sure, from the very beginning of the Slav invasions it was Byzantium's strategy to impose upon the "barbarians" its cultural conceptions, which in turn formed the basis for the Byzantine claims of universal political rulership. Realizing the ineffectiveness of their resistance to Byzantine political domination without possessing the enemy's own spiritual weapons, the Slavs accepted that culture.[59] Thus, the harder the Serbs or Bulgarians fought for political independence from Byzantium, paradoxically, the higher they esteemed its cultural values.[60] A good example hereof again is offered by Stephen Nemanja. Embodying the opposition to Byzantine overlordship, he nevertheless continued to call upon Greek painters for the decoration of the churches he built. And

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when taken in 1172-73 to Constantinople by the Emperor Manuel in order to walk in the Emperor's triumphal procession after losing a battle against him, Nemanja appreciated there some mosaics or wall paintings depicting Manuel's victorious campaigns and his own defeat.[61]

But there was also the other side of the coin in the complex development of the Byzantine-Slav relations. The acceptance of Christianity from Byzantine missionaries was a voluntary step taken by the Slavs in their constant awareness of the cultural gradient between the Byzantine and their own world. It indicated a growing appreciation of the cultural achievements of Byzantium and a desire to participate in them.[62] The aspect of an acceptance of Byzantine culture as a Slav "war strategy" falls short of explaining the reason for the existence of a genuine process of acculturation that continued to take place and even intensified long after political independence had become an actual fact.[63] The fundamental improvement in Serbia's cultural life was beyond doubt a consequence of the establishment of the country's political sovereignty in 1196. Although the political influence of Byzantium upon the Balkan countries vanished altogether in the following decades as discussed earlier, it was during that period that its cultural heritage began to be an organic part of Serbia's national culture. The Byzantine Orthodox church, though nationalized in language, clergy and spirit, remained a principal channel for the spread of that heritage among the Slav populations. The Nomokanon for instance, a Byzantine collection of canons, synodal rulings, teachings of the Church Fathers, etc., became the basic constitution of the Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian churches. Besides its earlier translations in Bulgaria and in Kievan Rus' it was also translated into Slavonic by Sava

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during his stay in the Salonican monastery of Philokale after his return from Nicaea in 1219.[64] Combining the Nomokanon with a translation of the Procheiron (a Byzantine code of civil and public law), Sava provided his country with the first authoritative manual on canon and secular law.[65] Roman-Byzantine law now became the basis of Serbia's legal proceedings.

Sava's versatile activity profoundly influenced still other facets of the acculturation process. Nurtured in Byzantine Orthodox traditions, he and his brother Stephen -- "a man educated in Byzantine manner",[66] whose Roman Catholic touch at any rate was very much politically conditioned -- with their *Vitae* of Stephen Nemanja laid the foundations for a genuine domestic literature. Given the traditional form of Byzantine hagiography, the two accounts display remarkable literary qualities and, by offering valuable historical and biographical information, represent "trustworthy documents of Serbian feudal life".[67]

Considering this readiness of the Serbs to incorporate Byzantine cultural elements into their own young civilization, one final phenomenon should not be surprising. Again, it happened to be Sava who brought Serbia within the reach of Byzantium's leading artistic currents of his time. As will be shown later, he was the inspiring, organizing and supervising mind in the employment of Greek painters whose works in the monasteries of Studenica and Žiča represent the foremost trends in Byzantine monumental painting of the early thirteenth century.

The major trends in the political, ecclesiastical and cultural life of Serbia as indicated in this brief survey thus converged around the year 1220 in a situation that may be summarized as follows:

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1. The collapse of Byzantine rule in the Balkans facilitated the effort of the Serbs to gain political independence which climaxed in the establishment of a Serbian kingdom, legitimized by the Holy See of Rome, but continuing to adhere to its traditional Eastern Orthodox beliefs and practices.

2. Political independence paved the way for the establishment of an autonomous Serbian Orthodox Church presided over by an archbishop whose privileges included not only the consecration of bishops but also the coronation of kings.

3. The growing national consciousness of the Serbs enhanced their desire to enter the ranks of recognized nations, exemplified by their increasing appreciation of the cultural values and standards of Byzantine civilization as the most advanced in its time. Through church and monastery, a gradual Byzantinization of Serbia's cultural life took place which a century later reached its full expression.

4. As sons of Stephen Nemanja, the founder of the Serbian state and the Nemanjid dynasty, King Stephen the First-Crowned and Archbishop Sava, while embodying the principles of political and ecclesiastical power in the country, initiated an intensive cult of the ruling dynasty and its saintly founder. As a specifically Slavic phenomenon and alien to Byzantine thinking,[68] this cult came to be a powerful stimulant for the awakening national self-esteem of the Serbs.

5. Encouraged by favorable political and economical developments, and united around their king and their church, the Serbs accepted a new culture that enabled them to preserve a part of Byzantium's artistic heritage that otherwise might have perished in the years of turmoil following the fall of Constantinople.

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II. FOUNDATION AND PURPOSE OF THE MONASTERY OF ŽIČA

Located in the heartland of Serbia, the monastery of Žiča witnessed important events connected with the establishment of the Serbian archbishopric and the asserted coronation of king Stephen the First-Crowned. As the archiepiscopal residence for a certain period, Žiča was elevated among all other Serbian monastic foundations and was called the "Great Archbishopric". In view of this historical importance and prestige, it is surprising that no specific date is known concerning its foundation, construction, or decoration. Only some general statements about these undertakings are found in the writings of Domentijan and Theodosije.

Domentijan reports that Žiča was founded by Sava and Stephen, Theodosije by Sava alone, during the period when the latter as archimandrite headed the monastery of Studenica.[69] A *terminus post quem* for Sava's stay in Studenica could be his return from Mount Athos with the relics of Nemanja, yet no firm date is available. In the longstanding dispute over this event, more recent investigations seem to settle on a time around 1206 or 1207.[70] Fortunately, an explicit date confirming Sava's presence in Studenica is provided by an inscription located in the main church of the monastery itself. Its very fragmentary text, which runs along the base of the dome, is dated 1209 and reveals Sava himself as the author, judging by the concluding sentence: "And remember me, the sinful Sava, who worked here."[71] That "work" performed by him in the church in all likelihood concerns the

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organization and surveillance of the decorating campaign.[72] If this is the case, the time span between 1206 or 1207 and 1209 - may have kept Sava fully occupied with the decoration of Studenica in addition to his other known activities. Any significant project as regards Žiča appears, therefore, to be doubtful in that period. A better *terminus post quem* for the foundation of Žiča, for that reason, may well be the year 1209, as has been suggested since the time of the uncovering of the Studenica inscription in 1951.[73]

According to Theodosije, Sava not only took an active part in Žiča's construction by advising and supervising the builders but must have played a decisive role in the formation of the architectural image of the church, in other words, in the design and the decorative elements of the building.[74] It is unknown in what stage of construction the church had been at the time when Sava departed for Mount Athos around 1217. The coronation of Stephen by a papal legate in that year took place at an unknown location, not in Žiča, but for this there may have been reasons other than an unfinished church. At any rate, the construction work must have been completed by the time of Sava's return as archbishop in 1219, since both chroniclers mention in connection with this event that only the decoration of the interior remained to be done.[75] In fixing the year of 1219 as the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the construction of the church, it must be borne in mind that the structure as it presents itself today (fig. 1) includes parts not belonging to the original plan. As indicated by the black parts in fig. 2, the initial building consisted of east end (without pastophories), naos with low transepts, and narthex with chapels.[76] The construction of exonarthex and tower took place at a later time.

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If little precise information exists on the dates of the construction of Žiča, even less is known about its purpose as originally intended. At its first mention by Domentijan or Theodosije, Žiča is already called the Great Archbishopric, which could be *ex post facto* . There is no way of knowing Stephen's or Sava's specific plans concerning the monastery at the time of its foundation. In any event, their intentions must have differed from those of their father when building Studenica. Located in a secluded area,[77] the latter strikes one's eye by its solid and neat execution in marble and cleancut stone, and by its portals and windows sumptuously decorated with marble ornament or sculpture. The church of the Saviour in Žiča is different. Apparently alluding to a practice common on Mount Athos, its exterior walls are hidden under a coat of dark red plaster. The building material was obviously not intended to be displayed since it consists of irregularly cut limestone randomly interspersed with bricks that in turn are laid in courses of varying number, or sometimes missing altogether.[78] Such a rough construction is complemented by simple portals and windows. Unlike the elaborate narthex portal in Studenica with its impressive figurative marble sculpture in the lunette, the analogous portal in Žiča consisted of plain rectangular lintels and was decorated merely by a small lunette painting, presumably a bust of Christ.[79] Such simplicity, modesty and imperfection as observed in architectural and decorative details of Žiča is difficult to explain in view of the important function the monastery assumed after its completion.

Beginning with Stephen Nemanja, every Serbian ruler, and often the highest ranks of the Serbian hierarchy, felt obliged to build one or several monasteries and to dedicate them to divine Protectors whose

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intercession and help they hoped to receive, especially on the day of the Last Judgement. Such a foundation, in the construction and maintenance of which the founder took utmost care, was called his *zadužbina* (literally: pledge) and often became his place of final rest. Typical *zadužbinas* were, for example, the monasteries of Studenica, Mileševa, Morača, and Sopoćani. It may be noted that neither Stephen nor Sava ever built a *zadužbina* in the sense described, although both were actively involved in a number of foundations. On the other hand, some authors refer to certain passages in Sava's typikon for Chilandar and Studenica concerning the function of parekklesia, to suggest that the two narthex chapels in Žiča may have been designated by the founders as their funeral chapels. These show scenes from the lives of St Stephen the Protomartyr and St Sabbas of Jerusalem, respectively.[80] If there were any such plans originally, they were not carried out. Stephen was buried in Studenica and his remains were returned there after a translation to Žiča for a period of two years. Sava's remains never rested in Žiča. But regardless of these circumstances, it seems doubtful that the will of the founders would have been so consistently ignored had they explicitly wished to be buried in Žiča.

From the foregoing considerations one may conclude that Žiča had not been planned as a burial church. Scholars often divide Serbian monuments into burial and episcopal churches. The former are built in remote places, away from human settlements and traffic whereas the latter are erected in open landscapes near crossroads.[81] This somewhat superficial classification contradicts the observation according to which the majority of the Serbian monasteries, burial churches or not, were built quite intentionally near important roads, serving as necessary and

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highly welcomed stations and resting places for merchants and travellers.[82] One of the best examples of this is the monastery of Mileševa that is usually mentioned among the isolated royal mausolea. In reality it formed an indispensable station along the international road connecting the Adriatic with the interior of the Balkans, and ultimately with Constantinople.[83] At the same time, Mileševa was the *zadužbina* and burial church of King Vladislav, the son of Stephen the First-Crowned. For several centuries it also housed the remains of Sava.

The options for Žiča thus being narrowed down to some degree, the question remains what, then, was its real purpose? Just another monastery, built on an easily accessible plateau near the crossing of several roads that were leading to various parts of the country? Or did Stephen and Sava while still being grand župan and archimandrite, respectively, anticipate the need for an episcopal church? But why in addition to the existing bishopric in Ras? Clearly, no straight answer is possible, neither on the basis of the sources nor the structure of Žiča itself. Its size, as planned, precludes its use for councils and larger political assemblies of the kind that repeatedly had taken place in the church of St Peter in Ras. After the new archbishopric started to function there was an urgent reason to construct a spacious exonarthex in Žiča. Would Sava, who reportedly had gained considerable experience in architectural and artistic matters on Mount Athos and elsewhere,[84] have overlooked the need for an appropriate hall space in Žiča, if he really intended to build a cathedral?

Considering the historical course of events during the decade following the foundation of Žiča, the question at what moment either of

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its two founders began to envisage the building as the center of a future independent Serbian church will, in all likelihood, remain open.

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III. THE FRESCO DECORATION OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY IN THE NAOS OF THE CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR

A. Documentation

The exclusive source of information for the decoration of Žiča are the writings of Domentijan and Theodosije cited earlier. The respective references, scanty as they are, serve at least to establish a *terminus post quem* for the paintings. Both authors mention in passing the decoration of the "Great Archbishopric" as one of Sava's activities after his return from Nicaea. According to Domentijan, Sava and his brother Stephen

> "were, through the Holy Spirit, burning with the desire to finish the holy Great Archbishopric which they had begun to build with great love, and which they brought to completion after some time, providing it with divine splendors, and adorning it with holy icons [paintings] .." [85]

Theodosije, who tends to add detail or to modify Domentijan's accounts, at times not without a certain bias, states that the Archbishop Sava alone took the necessary steps to finish the church after his return to Serbia and a short stay in Studenica:

> "And then the saint went on his way to his throne of primacy designated to him by God, to the church of Our Saviour and Lord in Žiča. A grand church it was, but not painted yet. And he consecrated it and adorned it with the holy altar and holy relics". [86]

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Sava's immediate concern apparently was the ordination of his suffragan bishops for the new Serbian archbishopric. This act, it seems, took place in a consecrated but still bare walled church. Only after the selection of the candidates, their instruction, ordination, and departure

> "each into his own land, he endeavored to complete the church, for he had brought with him marble workers and painters from the city of Constantine".[87]

Theodosije does not specify the length of time the painters needed to do the work. But in the passage following the foregoing sentence he says:

> "Yet as soon as there was completed the Great Church at Žiča with all its appropriate splendors, the holy Archbishop ordered his brother, the ruler Stephen, to come there with all his high officials and nobles.....And the holy Archbishop again summoned his bishops, hegumens and clergymen, and all assembled in the Great Church in Žiča, in the Archbishopric".[88]

Initiated and presided over by Sava, that assembly of Serbian nobility and clergy witnessed the coronation of Stephen. A date of 1221 is documented for this event (see n. 44). Furthermore, Theodosije mentions that the act of coronation took place on the feast of the Ascension of the Lord.[89] According to Anastasjević, this feast fell in that year on the twentieth of May.[90] If the two sources are accurate, the painting of the church must have been completed by the spring of 1221. The main task was probably carried out before the preceding winter of 1220-21. The painters may have begun their work as early as the spring of 1220, if Theodosije's account concerning the sequence of Sava's activities in Žiča is correct, that is, if the work of decorating the church

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was preceded by the ordination of the new bishops. A *terminus ante quem* for the latter event is offered by Stephen's letter to Pope Honorius III which was registered in Rome under the month of March 1220 (see n. 43). The letter was delivered by one of Sava's bishops (see n. 46), whose ordination hence must have preceded that date by a certain length of time. It may thus be safe to assume that the painting was already under way in the spring months of 1220, and was mostly finished before the winter that same year. An accomplishment of the task within a period of six to eight months is well within reasonable time limits in view of comparable cases such as the church at Neredica, which was decorated with wall paintings in approximately one month's time.[91]

Finally, a rather uncertain *terminus ante quem* for the wall paintings exists in the form of an undated inscription covering the north and south wall of the entrance vault below the tower of the monastery (fig. 4).[92] The lengthy, partly eroded text represents a donation charter given to Žiča by King Stephen and his oldest son and successor Radoslav. Besides general excerpts from canon and civil law it contains the endowments with land and villages, furthermore a new ruling of importance for Žiča (see p. 14). Furthermore, the charter enumerates the gifts and donations to the church proper, such as a particle of the Holy Cross, the right hand of St John the Baptist, the vestment of the Virgin, and others. Among the gifts are also mentioned "*icons of the saints and holy images*".[93]

Ever since the inscription was first published in the nineteenth century,[94] most scholars have considered it to be composed from two separate charters issued at different times.[95] The dates suggested for these charters range from 1219, the year of the return of Sava from

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Nicaea as archbishop, to ca. 1224-28, that is the time span into which fall the death of king Stephen and the coronation of his son Radoslav.[96] The matter is further complicated by the fact that recent scholarship tends to consider this inscription a redraft dating from the early fourteenth century.[97] Already Šafařik remarked that the inscription was "originally executed probably at the time of the construction of the church, yet apparently renewed later".[98]

Relevant as all these options may be for the historian, it is certainly inaccurate and misleading to attribute the inscription to the year 1220, as can be found here and there in art historical literature.[99] The lack of a date in the two inscription panels, whether these be originals or redrafts, renders them useless for the establishment of such a narrow date for the original wall paintings.

B. State of Preservation

Slobodan Nenadović, a Yugoslav architect, wrote in 1956: "We rarely have fresco cycles that are in such a pitiful state as the one in Žiča."[100] Among the extant Serbian monuments of the thirteenth century the paintings of Žiča have certainly suffered the greatest losses. The original work from Sava's times already became decimated around 1290 when Cumans and Bulgarians inflicted a heavy damage to the monastery.[101]

Restorations of the main church that took place in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century[102] resulted in extensive repaintings of the wall surfaces denuded by the fire. Fortunately, the

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new painters left the original decoration untouched however little of it had survived.

In the following centuries of Žiča's history both the oldest and the relatively younger paintings were severely damaged, especially during periods when the building itself decayed, as seen, for example, in a drawing of 1828 (fig. 3). Both World Wars contributed further damage, so that makeshift repairs had to be done on various parts of the building. As a result of all these detrimental factors, large parts of the paintings became detached from the wall and were held together merely by the compactness of the gypsum layer, often crumbling under the slightest finger pressure.[103]

A systematic cleaning and conservation of the frescoes was finally initiated in 1956 and lasted until 1967. Although meticuously performed, it could of course not change their overall deteriorated state. All there remains now are fragments of faintly colored grounds which have lost most of the surface paint, making iconographic and particularly stylistic investigation a difficult task. Many questions must remain unanswered that otherwise could significantly contribute to an understanding of the role Žiča played in the evolution of Byzantine artistic concepts on Serbian soil.

C. Survey of Research on Žiča

The frescoes of Žiča were among the earliest in this century to attract the attention of art historians. The first to study the paintings extensively was Vladimir Petković. In his publications on the history,

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architecture and paintings of the monastery,[104] Petković described primarily the iconographic features of the decorative program. He also distinguished accurately two campaigns on stylistical grounds and gave a correct analysis of the "hellenistic" style he recognized in the earlier group of paintings, which he called the "Byzantine style of the eleventh-thirteenth century".[105] Representing the earliest stage in the study of Byzantine art on the Balkans, Petković's pioneer work naturally falls short of defining the art historical position of the Žiča paintings as understood by present-day standards. Significant progress herein became possible after decades of further cleanings, uncoverings, and conservation of other monuments close in time. The better understanding of the stylistic evolution of Byzantine painting in the twelfth and thirteenth century revitalized interest in Žiča as the work of conservation neared its completion in the course of the 1960s. Recent literature comprises for the most part short comments in art historical studies and surveys on the one hand,[106] and descriptions on a more or less popular level included in guidebooks on the history and geography of Serbia on the other.[107] Finally, a collective work of several authors on the history, architecture, and fresco decoration of Žiča was published in 1969.[108] As the most recent work on the subject this publication essentially interprets knowledge gathered by previous research. Dwelling extensively on aesthetic aspects, the description and analysis of the paintings, -- being disappointingly eclectic and superficial, -- leaves the art historian dissatisfied in that comparisons have mostly been limited to examples found within the national boundaries of medieval Serbia.

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As indicated earlier, two separate building campaigns have been distinguished in the thirteenth-century structure (see p. 21). A time span of approximately ten to fifteen years between the two projects separates the paintings in the naos from those in the tower chapel. They differ from one another not only by their date of execution and function, but more so by their style. In contrast to the paintings in the naos, the decoration in the tower chapel is decidedly provincial not only in its inferior artistic quality but more in its perpetuation of characteristic features of the preceding epoch. For these reasons, it is felt, the paintings in the tower chapel will not be further considered in the present investigation.

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IV. ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE PAINTINGS

The works assigned to the original decoration of the church are located in the two transept arms. Their east walls each display a scene from the Passion of Christ: The Crucifixion in the south transept, and a very fragmentary Deposition in the north transept (figs. 5, 8). Over the remaining walls of both transept arms were distributed the standing figures of the twelve Apostles (figs. 5, 6, 8), of which four figures on the west wall of the north transept have vanished entirely.

Besides these few paintings the only original representations found in the present naos itself are the small, poorly preserved busts of two Archangels that occupy the lunettes over the doors leading into the south and north chapel, respectively (figs. 9, 10).

A. The Crucifixion

1. Description

The scene occupies the entire east wall of the south transept, the panel measuring 323 centimeters in width and 285 centimeters in height (figs. 11, 12). The life-size composition shows the central figure of the crucified Christ, flanked at the left side by the Virgin and the two Marys from Galilee (John 19: 25), at the right by St John the Evangelist and the Centurion (John 19: 26; Luke 23: 47).[109]

Christ's body sags to the left, causing the hip to bulge out. The arms do not follow the downward pull of the body but are rather

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stretched out almost horizontally, remaining from shoulders to hands entirely within the outlines of the crossarms.

The inclined head rests on the right shoulder. Although details are severely eroded, traces of the beard and of long undulating hair of very dark brown color, falling over the shoulders, are still recognizable (fig. 13). Faint slanted lines mark the position of brows and eyes, indicating that the eyes were shown closed.

The halo around the head has an inscribed cross of brownish color. Certainly gilded at one time, the halo now shows only spots of the ochre base layer used under the gold leaf. The segments previously gilded are delineated by sharp incisions following the circumference of the halo, the contours of the head, and the outlines of the inscribed cross.

Christ wears a loincloth that falls from the waist in multiple creases and ends below in zigzag folds (fig. 14). In front the cloth covers the thighs down to slightly above the knees while reaching considerably lower behind the legs. At the waist it is held together by means of a flap wound in a not quite comprehensible manner three times around the upper end of the cloth. The original color of the loincloth is undefinable, since most of the surface paint is now gone. The shading in the textile was modeled with greenish and grayish tones, lighted areas with yellow and white, and major folds accentuated with dark brown lines.

Little can be said about the original degree of modeling of the bare parts of the body. The surface pigment is missing throughout to such an extent as to let the lines for the underdrawing of the cross become visible (see chest area in fig. 13). Whatever remains of the lowest paint layer bonded to the ground indicates the position of chest and abdominal

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muscles, and that of the ribs. Hands and feet are badly eroded. The color of the contour line of the body varies between dark brown for the arms and Christ's left side, and orange for the sweeping convex-concave line of his right side, where it harmonizes with the orange-red spurt of blood gushing from the now vanished side wound.

The cross may have received some sculptural treatment by way of lighter and darker shades of wood color applied to its front and lateral faces, but its poor condition allows no definite statement.[110] Drawn with oblique angles, certain parts such as the suppedaneum, the ends of the crossarms, and the inscription tablet were obviously meant to convey a sense of three-dimensionality as understood in that age. The cross itself was in all likelihood planted on a hill to which but a few faint brownish streaks approximately delineating its outline may be attributed (fig. 15).

The left side of the scene is occupied by the standing figures of the Virgin and the two Women. They, too, have suffered considerable damage. Their feet and the lower ends of their garments are lost. A wide crack extending from top to bottom of the panel has damaged particularly the figure of the Virgin (figs. 16, 17). Standing nearest to the cross, the Virgin is turned halfway to the right, her head slightly inclined. Her left hand is folded over her breast while the right, the palm turned inward, is raised toward Christ. No details in the garment of the Virgin are now distinguishable. The formerly purplish brown maphorion covers the head and the upper parts of the body, but fades out completely further down. No trace is left of the traditionally blue tunic usually visible below the knees and at the sleeves. Of the facial features of the Virgin merely a few faint fragments of the right eye and

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brow, mouth, and shading on cheek and neck are visible (fig. 18). The halo has faded in the same way as that of Christ. The general denuding of the painting ground has exposed or intensified a curiously dense pattern of incised lines in the drapery of both the Virgin and the woman standing to the left (fig. 19), but the coloristic modeling of the garments along these lines has vanished with the surface paint.

Of the women accompanying the Virgin the one standing in front repeats the posture of the Virgin except that her hands are covered by her mantle and raised toward Christ. The mantle appears to have been of olive green color, with dark lines marking the folds. The tunic was possibly ochre or beige, these colors occurring in a few spots at the lower end of the figure. Under the headdress a reddish brown headcloth with bluish streaks is visible. The face has preserved to some extent its basic features, which seem to characterize a woman of advanced age, with a protruding chin, a sharp-edged jaw, a mouth with drooping corners, and a sharp nose.

Behind the Virgin and this woman stands another woman of whom only a part of her haloed head, one hand, and a small area of her mantle can be seen between the two figures. Standing nearly frontally she has turned her head halfway away from the cross; her right hand is turned outward and raised, so it seems, in a gesture of bewilderment or anxiety. Of the face just some of the highlighting and shading around cheekbone, eye, and chin survives. Below the neck a small portion of the tunic is visible which seems to have been of the orange color that also occurs in fragments on the cuff below the raised hand. The basic color of the headdress and mantle, consisting of mixed streaks of dove blue, orange, and dark brown, is not determinable.

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To the right of the cross stand two haloed figures: St John and the Centurion (figs. 20, 21). Again, erosion has damaged the lower parts most, leaving both figures without feet, and bleaching the lower ends of the garments. Symmetrically to the Virgin, John is turned in three-quarters posture toward Christ. He bows his head, resting his chin on the rounded surface of his raised right hand. The left hand is raised to the waist and holds a book drawn in perspective, the shady side of the volume darkened with green. The cover of the book was perhaps gilded, and was sumptuously adorned with jewels of which a few deep red stones are still visible. John is clad in a purple himation, the end of which is thrown over his left shoulder and falls down in long straight folds behind the body. Under the himation he wears a long, wide sleeved, light blue tunic bordered with orange hems as seen around the neck and the sleeves (fig. 22). Although all surface paint is lost, the soft lines and contours of the beardless face still betray the features of a young man, his eyes perhaps closed, his slanted brows expressing deep sorrow.

The Centurion, incorrectly named by tradition Longinus,[111] stands further back to the right of John in a somewhat contorted pose. Turning his head sharply up toward Christ he raises his right hand in a gesture of acclamation in the same direction. At the same time he bends, the legs set apart, his left knee as if intending to walk away in the opposite direction. An ochre coat of mail, belted at the waist, covers his body down to the thighs. Below, a deeply folded and very dark colored (purple ?) tunic reaches with a broad (golden?) hem to his knees. This tunic also appears, although entirely bleached, on his right arm behind John's shoulder. The lower legs are covered with dark brown hose that

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may show remnants of some design. Barely recognizable is a boot on the left leg, while the right leg is hidden behind John. Draped over the coat of mail is a blue mantle which is clasped at the right shoulder with a round fibula. The other ends of the mantle, after falling over the back, are gathered in front below the chest and knotted further down. The head is covered with a purple turban that is also wound around his neck. The face, drawn in near profile, is as faint as that of John. Still discernible is the position of the eyes, the short beard, the moustache. The item filling the space between the coat of mail and the edge of the panel is no longer identifiable, but most certainly it was meant to be a shield, one of the usual attributes of the Centurion. The faded design of blue and white squares below the hem and behind the legs follows the hemline at the same slanted angle and must therefore be understood as part of the garment. Since it extends over the knees halfway down to the ankles, it might represent some sort of a dalmatic. It is unclear, however, why this pattern is seen behind the legs rather than in front of them, unless the original drawing has been disturbed.

Two small half-length Angels in flight, one above each crossarm, complete the figural representations in the scene (figs. 23, 24). Both have suffered extensive loss of paint. The head of the left angel is destroyed. The two figures are mirror images in posture and action. Symmetrically placed over the ends of the cross arms, each is hovering in the direction of Christ, with wings spread. Judging by the intact angel and the corresponding fragments of the other, their hands are veiled by an edge of the mantle and raised to the face in a gesture of mourning. The left angel is dressed in a light green undergarment and a purple mantle. The right angel wears the same mantle, but his undergarment

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was probably dark blue. The folds of the mantles were modeled with deep purple or violet, and beige. The feathers at the lower end of the left angel's surviving wing are of a very dark brownish violet color, the upper feathers purplish with lighter tones for the highlights. The wings of the right angel have essentially lost all paint. The face of this angel is not preserved.

Behind each of the two groups of figures flanking the cross some traces of buildings can be distinguished. To the left stands a house of cubic shape seen from an oblique angle (fig. 16), so that the flat dark brown roof, the marble covered (?) façade with an arched gate, and the right wall, shaded green, is visible. Between roof and walls runs a light colored (marble?) frieze. Behind John and the Centurion looms a tall building complex resembling a huge, partly blue painted gate covered by a slanted roof and crowned with a cupola (fig. 25). The gate appears to project out of a light colored wall carrying a frieze.

In addition to the buildings in the background, a bluish strip of approximately 10 centimeters width, bordered by two faint reddish lines, runs across the panel at a level just below the suppedaneum of the cross and marks the lower edge of the blue background (figs. 12, 15, 20). It is underlain by another strip of ochre color and equal width of which now only a faded fragment is recognizable below the figure of the Centurion (fig. 20). This strip probably represented a frieze topping an arcaded wall very similar to the wall design in the Deposition scene in the north transept.[112] The arcades have totally vanished, yet older photographs still betray their former existence (fig. 26). There is no way to tell now whether the lower part of the wall was rusticated with diamond-pointed masonry just as in the other scene mentioned.

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Remains of an inscription in the Crucifixion panel present an important problem. Its letters, approximately 10 centimeters tall, are located between the nimbus of the Virgin and Christ's hip at the level of his navel (see figs. 12, 27). The white pigment of the inscription has faded to a degree that the letters themselves are barely recognizable. More or less identifiable is the last character, an ѧ (IA), thus pointing to a Slavic script. The preceding letter could be either an о or an є (E), the one standing before it a б (B) or a в (V). Whatever trace remains of the letter preceding this last one, it helps to recognize a letter т, especially when brought into a connection with all three characters following it. There is little doubt, then, that the four letters represent the word твоѧ (TVOIA), the feminine form of the pronoun "YOUR". Since the adjective in the Slavic language is very frequently placed behind the noun, the latter should be looked for somewhere in the first part of the text. Fortunately, of the characters preceding the word твоѧ one can rather easily be identified as the letter м (M). The letter following it lost almost all pigment, yet the horizontal bar at its top unmistakably points to the letter т. It is now reasonable to define the letters мт, followed by an adjective in the feminine form, as ones that represent the common, abbreviated form of the word мтр (MOTHER). Faint traces of two vertical bars with a slanted connecting bar, marking the letter н (I) are still slightly visible.

Not examining at this point other Crucifixion scenes, it suffices to mention that in the spaces adjacent to the body of Christ the following writings may occur: the title of the scene, the sigla of the Virgin and John, and Christ's commending words "Behold your son", "Behold your mother" (John 19: 26-27). The scene in Žiča obviously displayed the

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latter. The Slavic equivalent of "Behold", the word ϾЄ (SE), must have occupied a spot that unfortunately has been damaged by cracks and dislocations. While the letter Є has essentially been destroyed, a mark resembling a Ϲ might perhaps still represent the original letter.

A reconstruction of the inscription, as I understand it, would thus look as shown in fig. 28. Such an interpretation finds strong support by an earlier observation. In one of his reports on Žiča, Petković mentions briefly that

> "in front of Mary there is an inscription that now is almost completely lost and can only be recognized through utmost straining of the eyes: 'Behold your mother', and beside John definitely was the text: 'Behold your son', but by now it has vanished entirely."[113]

In a later publication, which is essentially a reedition of the earlier report, the author omits the "straining of the eyes" and simply says: "In front of Mary are written the words 'Behold your mother' " etc.[114] As already stated by Petković, the corresponding words "Behold your son", which must have been located in the space between Christ and John, have totally disappeared. Merely some unintelligible spots of pigment remain today (fig. 29).

In recent times a different explanation of the writing has been put forth by Pavle Mijović. He interprets the words as "Mother of God", that is as МТН ѲЎ at one occasion[115], and as ⲙⲏⲧⲏ ⲑ̅ⲩ̅ at another.[116] Both versions are very unlikely, not only because neither fits the pattern of the extant letters but also for other reasons.[117]

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2. Analysis of Some Iconographic Elements

A comparison of the Crucifixion scene in Žiča with other Byzantine representations of this subject matter permits us to separate some of its elements into certain groups. There are those features that belong to a stock of motifs the longstanding tradition of which had developed during the Middle Byzantine period. By the thirteenth century they still occur regularly in Byzantine works. Other features, although appearing frequently in representations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, seem to reflect provincial or foreign influences unknown in earlier, strictly Byzantine works. Finally, the scene in Žiča contains a few details that are either obsolete within the Byzantine sphere but can still be found frequently in Western scenes, or else represent true archaisms that had been lost both in Byzantine and Western traditions.

a) The Compositional Layout

Early representations of the Crucifixion, following ancient Syrian formulas, were predominantly based on the Gospel of St John (19: 18-34). They show the three crosses of Christ and the two thieves, the Virgin, John, the women, the sponge-bearer Esopos (called Stephaton in the West), Longinus with his spear, and some soldiers casting lots for Christ's garment. An example for such a setup is found in the Rabbula Gospels, dated 586 (fig. 30) or, in later times, in the thirteenth-century Iviron codex (fig. 31). As Millet points out, Byzantine iconography initially expanded this scheme by combining it with the accounts of the synoptic Gospels, that is adding the Centurion with soldiers and the Pharisees with the people.[118] Side by side with this elaboration of the

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narrative, however, there existed a trend of reducing the scene to the essential figures, mainly for liturgical purposes or the decoration of small cult objects.[119] The three-figure image, Christ flanked by the Virgin and John, represents the ultimate stage in this development. From the ninth century onward it became a standard formula in both East and West. The mosaics in Hosios Lukas and Daphni (figs. 32 and 33), or a miniature in the Bamberg Psalter (fig. 34) may serve as a few of the numerous examples.

In the process of simplifying the narrative various intermediate forms can be observed that reflect in part the separate paths taken by Eastern and Western iconography. While the West chose to preserve some of the earliest participants of the scene,[120] a specifically Byzantine approach was to omit step by step the original figures such as the two thieves, Longinus and Esopos, and the soldiers casting lots, whereas more recent ones such as the Centurion were retained.[121] This scheme, also developed in posticonoclastic times, became the general formula of the Middle Byzantine period. A mosaic in the Nea Moni in Chios (fig. 35), miniatures in two Gospel books (in Parma, fig. 36, and Venice, fig. 37), a wall painting in Kurbinovo (fig. 38), and a steatite relief in Athens (fig. 39) are examples of this composition. It is also represented in Žiča.

This evolution is well demonstrated by transitional stages in which old and new elements occur side by side in the same scene, for instance in two Cappadocian wall paintings (figs. 40 and 41) where the new reduced scheme still shows Longinus and Esopos. Another example is an enamel plate from a book cover in Munich (fig. 42). Here the established setup still displays the group of soldiers casting their lots for Christ's garment.

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b) Christ

The Sagging Body.

During the eleventh century a decisive change took place in the depiction of the crucified Christ. It reflected significant changes of thought in the Byzantine interpretation of Christ's death on the cross, changes that pervaded Byzantine theology since the end of Iconoclasm.[122] If Christ's nature was composed of a divine and a human part, it was now considered justified to depict the suffering of that human component.[123] The humanizing tendency in the illustration of the dogma came to its full expression when Christ on the cross began to be shown dead rather than alive, as had been customary for centuries. A lifelessly sagging body became from now on, together with an inclined head and closed eyes, the most characteristic iconographic feature in the depiction of Christ's physical death. The comparison of a tenth-century ivory in Paris (fig. 43) with already cited works, for instance Hosios Lukas (fig. 32), Daphni (fig. 33), Chios (fig. 35), or Kurbinovo (fig. 38) demonstrates the development.

A closer look at the various representations reveals a notable evolution in the design of the drooping body. In examples dating mostly from the eleventh century (Chios, Hosios Lukas, Daphni, or the Parma Gospels, fig. 36) the body sags very moderately, describing a smooth, harmonious curve from the chest down to the feet. Beginning with the twelfth century it starts to bulge out markedly stronger, affecting especially the lower half of the body from the waist downward. This can be seen in the Munich enamel (fig. 42), in Kurbinovo (fig. 38), and in the Armenian Gospel book in Venice (fig. 37). For the early thirteenth century the frescoes in Aquileia (fig. 44) and Studenica (fig. 45) are

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good examples. Looking at the Christ in Žiča it is clear that his bulging hip closely reflects this development.[124] On the other hand, it appears as if the artist aimed to return to the smooth, longstretched design of the body characterizing the earlier works of the eleventh century. It may not be incidental that Christ's arms are stretched out almost horizontally, strangely contrasting with the sagging body in the support of which they do not seem to have any part. This relationship certainly differs from most twelfth-century or nearly contemporary representations in which the arms are shown slanted at various angles, rationally indicating the pull of the defunct body, as seen for instance in Daphni (fig. 33). The position of the arms in Žiča actually evokes the early image of the straight, upright figure of the live Christ such as represented in the ivory in Paris (fig. 43) or, more accurately, one of the transitional types that must have served as a model for the painter of Karanlık kilise in the eleventh century (see fig. 41).

The Blood Stream.

The wound in Christ's right side, inflicted by the spear of Longinus, issued "blood and water " (John 19: 34). Apparently no specific reference to the water was made in the earliest works. In the Rabbula Gospels (fig. 30) the blood stream issuing from the wound does not differ much in color or shape from those flowing down from the hands of the crucified thieves except that there are two streams shown for each hand of the latter, and three from Christ's hands. It is difficult to determine where and when a pictorial distinction between blood and water came about. Already in the eighth century an icon from Mount Sinai[125] displays a prominent spurt divided into a red and white stripe. By the eleventh century the double-colored stream becomes the normal

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Byzantine formula (Hosios Lukas, fig. 32; Chios, fig. 35; Karabaş kilise, fig. 40; Daphni, fig. 33). It gushes from the wound either for a short distance or travels in a long smooth arc. The latter variant is employed in Žiča. However, the spurt here does not seem to have the white component of the water, certainly not in its relatively best preserved portion. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the design in Žiča adheres to an older, strictly Byzantine iconography in that the blood stream ends in space. It contrasts with the theme of the blood being collected in a vessel that either stands by itself in the space (see the Munich enamel, fig. 42) or is held by a female figure symbolizing Ecclesia, a motif that had become increasingly popular in the Byzantine sphere since the twelfth century. Examples are the frescoes in Studenica (fig. 45), in the Neophytos hermitage on Cyprus (fig. 46), or in the Panhagia Mavriotissa in Kastoria (fig. 47).[126]

c) The Virgin

When compared to the significant development in the representation of Christ, the iconography of the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene progresses in Byzantine art to a much lesser degree. The Virgin's emotional state in this scene is chiefly expressed by gestures of her hands. Up to the ninth century her grief is demonstrated by the classical gesture of raising both hands, covered with the mantle, to wipe the tears from the face,[127] as can be seen equally in Eastern and Western representations, for example in the Rabbula Gospels (fig. 30), the Paris Gregory, dated ca. 880 (fig. 48), and the eighth-century fresco in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome.[128] Another ancient gesture of grief, the palm of the hand placed on the cheek, is displayed by the Virgin in

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an eleventh-century lectionary in the Vatican[129] and also seen in the Karanlık kilise (fig. 41). During the same period the Virgin begins to show her sorrow by a different gesture. She places her left hand over her breast, sometimes touching the right edge of her mantle as if intending to veil her face with it (see Hosios Lukas, fig. 32).[130] It is this motif that, together with the right hand pointing toward Christ in a gesture of attestation, becomes the standard iconography of the Virgin in Byzantine Crucifixion scenes for centuries to come. Typical examples are given in Daphni (fig. 33), in the Parma Gospels (fig. 36), in Studenica (fig. 45), and certainly in Žiča (fig. 18). This highly restrained attitude of the Virgin, discretely betraying her sorrow predominantly by the inclined head and the facial expression, is indicative of the trend in Byzantine art beginning with the eleventh century to subdue the Virgin's emotions in this scene.[131]

Toward the end of the twelfth and particularly in the course of the thirteenth century, this conservative Byzantine formula for the Virgin as represented in Žiča begins to contrast with an iconography that introduces signs of an increasing weakness on the part of the Virgin. At first these signs become apparent in discrete actions on the part of the women, whose role of passive bystanders gradually changes into one of active assistants to the Virgin. A very early phase in this development, actually one that precedes the actions of the women, might be indicated around 1200 in the Neophytos fresco (fig. 46). The Virgin here forsakes her restrained mood of pensive sorrow and openly shows her mental pain by turning her face upward to Christ and stretching both hands out to him in a manner that differs fundamentally from the gesture shown in the eleventh-century ivory at Paris (fig. 43). In Aquileia (fig.

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44), which is contemporary with Neophytos, the dwindling self-control of the Virgin is anticipated by one of the women who steps forward into the space between the Virgin and Christ and lends support to the Virgin's sinking hand. From this point it is not a great step to representations such as Mavriotissa (fig. 47) or a thirteenth-century icon on Mount Sinai (fig. 49). The Virgin, losing all strength in utter distress, is collapsing here in the arms of her companions.

The origin of this iconography of the weakening Virgin is not clear. The idea of showing one woman standing behind the Virgin and holding her discretely by the shoulders or the elbow is attributed by Millet to Syrian and Cappadocian artists. But he cites as the earliest known example an eighth-century work in Rome, then the thirteenth-century triconch in Tagar, Cappadocia. In Monreale and Aquileia, called by him "compositions strictement byzantines" of the twelfth century, he sees the beginnings of the development in the woman stepping forward to hold the Virgin's hand [132]. Millet believes that the prototype for the Virgin being supported by two women originated in some Italo-Greek school of the thirteenth century.[133]

More recent research also tends to regard the thirteenth century in Byzantine painting as the earliest period during which the first signs of the Virgin being visibly overcome by grief become apparent. Lazarev, for example, rejects a date of the twelfth century for the wall paintings of the Mavriotissa as suggested by Pelekanides and mentions as a reason for a later date the inclined figure of the fainting Virgin (see fig. 47).[134] The early dating of Mavriotissa is, exactly for the same reason, rejected also by Orlandos, who places it in the first decades of the thirteenth century.[135] Discussing the type of the fainting Virgin occurring in

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Patmos (fig. 50), for which he offers a date of the first half of the thirteenth century, Orlandos sees, with Millet, an initial stage in Aquileia (see fig. 44), where the woman stepping forward already assumes precisely the same position and role as in the Patmos scene. Such a position of the woman, who turns her back to the cross and draws the attention of the beholder to the emotions of the Virgin, would, according to Orlandos, be inconceivable for a painter of the twelfth century.

All these considerations and datings are obviously built upon the supposition that the type of the weakening Virgin has been developed by Byzantine artists who then passed the mature form on to the West, as clearly suggested by Orlandos in his remarks on the iconography of the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene of Sopoćani (fig. 51).[136] At the same time, however, Orlandos speaks of Byzantine workshops in Italy and the coastal areas of the Balkans that significantly contributed to the development of the motif of the suffering Virgin. In the Sinai icon (fig. 49), which he dates to the second half of the twelfth century, he recognizes Veneto-Byzantine influences in the Virgin leaning forward and being supported by two women, one of whom incidentally is depicted in exactly the same position in relation to the cross as the woman assisting the Virgin in Aquileia or Patmos, or as John in Sopoćani for that matter. Sotiriou places the icon in the thirteenth century,[137] and Weitzmann mentions it among thirteenth-century Crusader icons on the Sinai.[138] Is it unreasonable to think of a Western origin for the motif of the collapsing Virgin? A fully developed type was already known to Nicholas of Verdun (see fig. 52) three quarters of a century before Sopoćani!

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The purpose of this admittedly digressive comment was to indicate in the example of the Virgin in the Crucifixion the existence of new options for the Byzantine artist of the thirteenth century. As a result of steadily growing interpenetration and blending of Byzantine, Oriental, and Western elements already in the course of the twelfth century, the artist now had a choice either to adhere to a traditional iconography that reflected conservative Byzantine concepts, or move along a path which drew his attention increasingly to human aspects of the drama. It will be shown at a later point which choices the artist of Žiča has made.

d) The Women

The presence of female followers of Christ at his crucifixion is attested by all Evangelists. Since the accounts diverge somewhat in their identification, the number of the women represented in the scene varies between two, three, and four, the first figure being preferred by Byzantine tradition. These variations are further discussed in the analysis of the Deposition scene.

Mostly standing in the background behind the Virgin, the women show their grief by raising the veiled hands to the face or holding the palm at the cheek. In fact, at least one among them usually continues to do so in strictly Byzantine works even after the eleventh century, when the Virgin herself ceases to demonstrate her sorrow openly by these gestures, as is the case in Chios (fig. 35), in the Karabaş kilise (fig. 40), or in Studenica (fig. 45). And, accordingly, the emotions of the women intensify from the moment where the Virgin begins to display hers more explicitly. In Aquileia (fig. 44) one woman covers her eyes with her hand while the woman holding the Virgin's hand lifts her other, veiled

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hand to the face. A step further in this development of exaggerated gestures of sorrow is seen in the Crusader icon (fig. 49) where the woman in the background throws both hands upward in a typical gesture of lamentation. But a climax is definitely reached in the work of Nicholas of Verdun (fig. 52). Here Mary Magdalene passionately casts herself down to Christ's feet. If it is true that Western thinking created the motif of mourning angels (see below, p. 52), the emotional buildup in the attitudes of the women -- and of the Virgin herself for that matter -- might well have been initiated in an equally un-Byzantine sphere. The conservative gestures of the two women in Žiča (fig. 17), particularly that of prayer or reverence shown by the woman in the background, present a contrast indeed to the vehement emotions in the aforementioned representations, yet matching well the reserved attitude of the Virgin.

Both women accompanying the Virgin have haloes. The occurrence of this feature seems to follow a certain pattern as regards period and region. It is more feasible to consider this question in connection with the Deposition scene.

e) The Mourning Angels

Angels hovering above the cross in the form of busts or in half-length, one or two above each crossarm, appear already in Crucifixion scenes of the eighth century, as in some icons from Mount Sinai of that period.[139] They turn toward Christ, their hands raised before them with the palms turned outward in a gesture of prayer or reverence. In the following centuries the angels are shown more frequently in *contrapposto,* still facing Christ while their bodies are turned slightly away from him, and the gestures become more varied, expressing

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attestation, as in the Parma Gospels (fig. 36), Kurbinovo (fig. 38), the Munich enamel (fig. 42), Aquileia (fig. 44), and Studenica (fig. 45). The actions and gestures in these examples do not really betray a direct emotional involvement of the angels in the event they witness. A significantly different iconography is seen in the Armenian Gospel book (fig. 37), in the Athens steatite (fig. 39), in the Neophytos fresco (fig. 46), and also in Žiča (figs. 23 and 24). The angels here are shown in flight (except in Neophytos). They raise their veiled hands to the face, thus demonstrating their grief by the same gesture the Virgin and the women had assumed earlier.

The first appearance of these mourning or weeping angels is usually attributed to the eleventh century, although only one Byzantine example from that time, a Sinai icon, is known so far.[140] On the other hand, some eleventh-century representations of mourning angels from Italy have been reported,[141] and a western origin of this motif has been suggested.[142] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries mourning angels occur in Byzantine works notably more frequently, appearing also in related scenes as in the fresco of the Lamentation scene from 1164 in Nerezi (fig. 54).[143] Of five cycles executed between 1199 and ca. 1220, -- Aquileia, Studenica, Neredica,[144] Neophytos, and Žiča --, the last three show the angels weeping.[145] The motif is introduced even in the thirteenth-century Iviron codex (fig. 31), strangely contrasting here with the otherwise archaizing iconography of the scene.

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f) The Architectural Setting

There are other iconographic elements in the scene that represent typically Byzantine motifs, passed on through the centuries as codified details. Background architecture for instance, symbolizing the city of Jerusalem, may have been introduced in Crucifixion scenes already in Early Byzantine art,[146] but its occurrence becomes more frequent beginning with the eleventh century. Some examples are found in the Parma Gospels and the Armenian Gospels in Venice (figs. 36, 37), in the eleventh-century ivory in London (fig. 53), in the frescoes of Aquileia (fig. 44) and the Mavriotissa (fig. 47). In addition to these architectural forms a more or less elaborately designed wall motif stretching across the background became subsequently a formula for the wall of the city of Jerusalem. Most of the works just cited also display this wall, traces of which are still evident in Žiča (see p. 39). A design representing the decoration of the wall with diamond-pointed masonry is particularly apparent in Kurbinovo (fig. 38) or in Studenica (fig. 45).

g) John

The iconographic elements discussed so far represent motifs that, regardless of their origin, are common in Byzantine Crucifixion scenes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the figure of John we meet for the first time elements that, although of Byzantine origin, have ceased to exist in Byzantine representations of the Crucifixion by the time that Žiča was painted, namely, the actions of John's hands. As one can see in fig. 21, John is holding a book in his left hand and has placed the back of his raised right hand under his chin.

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Among the participants of the scene John remains from the earliest times relatively little affected by the humanizing trend in the depiction of the event. Initially a contemplative witness of the dogma, he evolves into a calm mourner whose emotions remain relatively more restrained than those of the Virgin, the women, or the angels above the cross. Byzantine works show John for at least a century after Iconoclasm still carrying his book, occasionally a scroll, in the left hand. In the course of the eleventh century the book begins to disappear particularly in purely Greek monuments such as Hosios Lukas or Chios, and possibly in the first place in monumental painting, of which unfortunately only a very few examples are extant. Left idle, the hand initially remains at the waist as if still carrying the book, and is then lowered upon the hip, sometimes grasping a fold of the mantle (see Hosios Lukas, fig. 32, or Aquileia, fig. 44).

For John's right hand a variety of positions is observable in works of the earlier period during which the book in the left hand is still present. The hand points at Christ in a gesture of testimony, as in the Paris ivory (fig. 43) or in Daphni (fig. 33), or it is placed at the chest or upon the book. During the later part of the tenth century Byzantine artists begin to break with these old formulas. Striving to express John's emotions in the presence of the dying Christ, they introduce, in the spirit of the Macedonian Renaissance, new variants for the right hand. By raising the palm of the right hand to the cheek, or placing the bent hand under the chin, John from now on assumes gestures typical of pensive, restrained sorrow.[147] The first of these two motifs became in both monumental and minor art almost the exclusive formula in the following centuries, as most of the examples cited so far indicate.

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The variant of John supporting his chin is represented by a group of eight ivory reliefs, all dated to the end of the tenth century.[148] Iconographically and stylistically they are so closely related that they seem to have been produced in one artistic center. The entire group, of which the Liverpool ivory is shown as an example (fig. 55), presents John carrying the book, thus fitting well into the tenth century. It is this image of John that appears in Žiča. However, it is surprising that after the tenth century this iconography essentially disappeared from Byzantine Crucifixion scenes. All my efforts to find it in works of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth century, especially in monumental painting, remained unsuccessful.[149] Noticing on the other hand the occurrence of this motif in Western Crucifixions, I examined the problem more closely on a larger number of scenes in monumental and minor art of both Byzantine and Western origin. Altogether 150 representations, not counting Žiča, were collected and more or less chronologically arranged in a list (see Appendix). The items consist of 91 Byzantine and 59 Western representations.[150] In a table added to the list and showing the results of this study, each of the two major groups is divided into works of monumental and minor art. These are further divided into earlier (ninth to eleventh century) and later (twelfth and thirteenth century) representations.

Despite the randomness and incompleteness of such a collection some obvious differences between the two major groups are easily recognizable. As regards John's Gospel book, its virtual elimination from Byzantine works of the later centuries is clearly demonstrated in both monumental and minor art. Contrasting with this finding are the Western representations, of which unfortunately only very few examples

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of monumental painting were available. In minor art, however, the Gospel book seems to occur quite frequently, especially in later periods. The only instance found in later Byzantine monumental art where John appears with the book is the fresco in the Neophytos hermitage in Cyprus, dated ca. 1200 (fig. 46). However, the combination of Gospel book, Ecclesia and Synagogue, and weeping angels in this scene may well betray an adaptation of Western motifs as a result of the occupation of the island by the Crusaders. An almost certain indication for such an influence is the inclusion of the scene of Pilate Washing his Hands in the Passion cycle,[151] which is a typical theme of Western art, particularly Italian.[152]

Looking at the evolution of the gestures of John's right hand, earlier Byzantine works are characterized by a far greater variety as compared to those of later periods in which the version with the palm placed at the cheek becomes, especially in monumental art, the almost exclusive motif. Again, the West deviates from such a uniform trend. In the cases where the book is abandoned the iconography does not necessarily follow the Byzantine combination of the left hand dropped and the right hand placed at the cheek. Instead, other gestures for both hands continue to occur. Specifically the gesture as seen in Žiča is found in the West more frequently. And it is important to note that it appears there predominantly in combination with the book in John's left hand, remaining so until the thirteenth century, as the miniature from the Bamberg Psalter proves (fig. 34). How firmly established this formula must have been in Western iconography is indicated by the fact that it was employed as late as 1250 in related scenes such as the Deposition (see the illustration in a Psalter leaf in the Metropolitan Museum, fig. 56).

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The earliest Western representations of this formula, found for instance in the early eleventh-century Sacramentary of Henry II (No. 97 of the list in the Appendix), do not seem to antedate the eleventh century. Such a finding would agree with a statement of Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, according to which a large number of the so-called ivory triptych group, to which the eight cited works belong (see n. 155, and nos. 29-36 in the list), reached the West, especially Reichenau, as favorite gifts and were used as book covers in the period of the Saxon emperors in the late tenth century.[153]

In the Byzantine sphere this image of John, appearing only in the ivories mentioned and in Žiča, remains strangely isolated. Monumental painting has apparently not been influenced by it at all. In minor art I found only two instances in which the gesture of palm to cheek occurs, but not combined with the Gospel book. The examples both belong in the twelfth century. The first, the small steatite relief in Athens (fig. 39), contains besides the mourning angels elements that have been attributed to Western influences.[154] Appearing in combination with these elements John's gesture might, in this case, also have been adopted from a Western source. The second example is the miniature in the Armenian Gospel book in Venice (fig. 37). Here again we find features that are archaic or uncommon by Byzantine standards of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Der Nersessian characterizes the work as a representation in which older Armenian elements are blended with more recent, that is Byzantine, ones of the twelfth century.[155] Unfortunately she does not discuss particular details and their attribution to specific sources. Highly unlikely for a Byzantine work after the ninth century is the text of the Armenian inscription on the tablet reading "Jesus King of

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the Jews".[156] The choice remains therefore between old Armenian or other Oriental sources[157] and the West, the latter having preserved this formula throughout the centuries. Since the manuscript was produced in Cilicia which had come under the control of the Crusaders, it is possible that Western sources account for the inscription, the weeping angels, and John's gesture.

It should be made clear that the gesture of John as such is a common iconographic ingredient of various scenes traditionally displaying mourning gestures. It is the presence of the Gospel book that makes John's image a unique motif in Byzantine painting of the later centuries, and presumably not only in the Crucifixion. A case where this particular type is precisely reproduced appears to be rather exceptional. In the Koimesis scene of the church of St Nicholas Kasnitzes in Kastoria[158] one of the Apostles standing to the right of the Virgin's deathbed rests his chin on the back of his right hand. The book in his left hand characterizes him as an Evangelist (fig. 57). Since I have not been able to find this iconography in other Koimesis scenes of the Middle Byzantine period, I believe it to be a quite rare motif, even in representations not related to the Passion scenes.

h) The Inscription

The last feature to be examined in the scene is the vestigial inscription located between Christ and the Virgin. In both Byzantine and Western representations of the Crucifixion the arrangement of Christ's words spoken to his mother and to John has been very uniform throughout the period of its usage. The sentence "Behold Your Son" (the Greek "IDE O YIOS SOU") is always placed to the left of the cross, that is

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between Christ and the Virgin, while the words "Behold Your Mother" ("IDOU H MHTHR SOU ") stand on the right side between Christ and John. Examples for this uniformity can be seen in Hosios Lukas (fig. 32), in Chios (fig. 35), in the Karanlık kilise (fig. 41), in the Munich enamel (fig. 42), or in the Paris ivory (fig. 43). Western works displaying this order are, for instance, an early ninth-century ivory relief in Narbonne,[159] or an ivory lid from the school of Tournai, dated ca. 900.[160]

In the disposition of the words in Žiča one meets a puzzling question. The phrase "Behold Your Mother" (ϹЄ ΜΤΗ ΤΕΟΜ), standing in the space between the Virgin and Christ, has obviously traded places with the now lost phrase "Behold Your Son" . Such an arrangement of the text is against all tradition. When Petković stated what he saw (see p.42), he himself was apparently unaware of the uniqueness of the version in Žiča, as he expressed not the least surprise about such a finding. The ghost character of the inscription doubtless contributed to the fact that in the following decades Petković's observation was never commented on. A thorough study of all representations at hand enabled me to detect an identical reversal of the phrases in another work. In the eleventh-century painting in the Karabaş kilise (fig. 40) the words ИΔΥ ΜΜ-ΡϹΥ clearly stand above the Virgin's nimbus to the right of her sigla (fig. 58a). The letters ИΔЄ ΟV·ϹϹΥ standing in front of John in two short lines are somewhat damaged but still legible (fig. 58b).

Some vague conclusions may be drawn from this circumstance. The artist of the Karabaş fresco in the eleventh century, and the one in Žiča a century and a half later, might have followed a version that was extremely rare to begin with and later disappeared entirely. However,

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the probability for the existence of such a model is small indeed. To my knowledge all extant representations, beginning with the simple pectoral crosses of the sixth and seventh century up to the major monuments of the tenth and eleventh century display the common arrangement of the words. There remains then the alternative that both artists independently made the same mistake, perhaps for different reasons. One should realize that the use of the inscription, still quite frequent in posticonoclastic times, declines up to the twelfth century, and then it appears to vanish even in usually more conservative provincial art. Of all works listed in the Appendix, Byzantine or Western, not a single one produced after 1100 shows this inscription.[161] In the West it seems to have been totally eliminated by the tenth century. In one case, an Italian ivory from ca. 900 in the Vatican Museum (no. 93 in the list), the rudimentary and misspelled text was obviously copied without much comprehension. If the inscription started to become unintelligible for a Western artist as early as 900, it is understandable that centuries later Byzantine artists might confuse the sequence of the words.

Leaving this problem as it is, there remains one essential fact. While the artists invited by the Archbishop Sava brought to Žiča the latest stylistic trends in Byzantine painting, as will be discussed, they employed in their work an iconographic element that was out of fashion for at least a century in Byzantine and Western art.

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3. Conclusions

The foregoing comparisons have shown that the representation of the Crucifixion in Žiča remains well within current Byzantine iconography as regards its overall design and the individual postures and actions of the participating figures. Contrasting with contemporary Byzantine forms, however, is the action of St John and the presence of the inscription containing Christ's words. The artist has with these elements consciously introduced an antiquated repertory, which may be viewed as consistent with the revival of the classical past. Like the artists who introduced a learned classical vocabulary in the art of the Macedonian Renaissance, the precursors and inaugurators of the Palaeologan Renaissance may have begun here to revert to a pictorial language which reflected that revival not only in style but also in iconography.[162] In his fundamental studies of the links between the Macedonian and Palaeologan Renaissance, Kurt Weitzmann has repeatedly pointed out that the classicizing features in the art of the thirteenth and fourteenth century were not so much derived from a direct study of antique models but rather adopted second-hand from works produced during the Macedonian Renaissance.[163] Although doubts have been raised as to a substantial dependence of Palaeologan monumental painting upon older manuscript illustrations,[164] there is in the case of John in Žiča a good chance for an adoption of a tenth-century model such as the ivory group mentioned earlier. On the other hand, even in the tenth century the particular type does not seem to occur frequently, and certainly it has not been preserved in any monumental painting. This circumstance may cast doubt upon a direct

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transmission of a model on Byzantine soil. The preservation and continuity of this type in Western iconography opens in turn the possibility of a Western influence in Žiča. Such links have in fact been suggested, but it is of little diagnostic value to base them on just a single detail such as John's Gospel book.[165] A more definite answer as to the possible sources for this iconography in Žiča may be found after the investigation of the remaining program.

B. The Deposition

1. Description of the Extant Fragments of the Scene

Complementing the Crucifixion scene in the south transept, the representation of Christ being taken from the cross occupies the east wall of the north transept. The panel is essentially of the same width (ca. 328 centimeters), its height being unknown, since the upper margin is lost. Presumably it matched the size of the Crucifixion panel with a height of ca. 285 centimeters. The scene, painted on the same blue background, is now mostly destroyed. Two remaining fragments are located near the right edge of the panel and in the lower left corner respectively (figs. 8 and 59). The two patches fortunately contain some of the elements by which the episode can at least be identified.

Recognizable in the larger fragment are three haloed female figures standing near the right margin of the panel (figs. 60, 61). Two of them, standing in the foreground, are turned halfway to one another. Considerable loss of paint makes a determination of colors, dresses and faces difficult. Both figures have lost their feet. The woman to the left

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(fig. 62) wears a possibly greenish brown mantle over a bluish tunic. All highlighting on the drapery has faded out, especially in the upper part of the figure. The left hand is raised and placed at the cheek, supporting the inclined head. The right hand is also raised and turned outward in front of the body as if in a gesture of speech or pointing out of the scene. Of the face, drawn in half profile, merely some faint traces of the nose, eyes, and brows remain. The color of the headdress has vanished entirely. The haloes of all three figures are eroded, only their dark brown contours being intact.

The second woman stands slightly behind the first, whose halo overlaps hers. She is turned somewhat to the left, her head inclined toward her companion. The garment consists of an olive green tunic and a very dark blue mantle. The face is eroded. Both hands of this woman are raised in a typical gesture of lamentation.[166]

Behind the haloes of the two women emerges the haloed head of a third woman, who seems to stand upon an elevated spot, being two heads taller than the women in the foreground. Only head and left shoulder of this figure are visible. The head is slightly inclined and turned in half profile toward the center of the scene. All details in face and garment have vanished. Headdress and mantle appear to have been of purple color.[167]

The background behind this group is occupied by a large building (fig. 60). Its façade contains an arched gate and an ornamental frieze. The building is crowned by three domes resting on relatively tall drums that carry roundheaded windows. As regards the somewhat smaller left wing of the building, it is not clear whether it represents a receding wall drawn foreshortened or just an attached structure with a slanted roof.

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In the lower left part of the fragment a small portion of what seems to be a ladder leaning slightly to the left can be distinguished (fig. 60). On one rung of this ladder a bare foot and the lower end of a long garment slightly above its ankle are just barely recognizable. Further up along the edge of the patch a haloed, very damaged head is visible which, judging by a cross inscribed in the halo, must be Christ. The slanted position of the cross bars in the halo indicates a strongly inclined position of his head. Still higher, at the upper left margin of the fragment, the rectangular edge of an object represents in all likelihood the edge of the right arm of the cross. Unfortunately, there are no clear details in the colorless area below the head of Christ. Close inspection reveals very faint lines of brownish color that seem to delineate Christ's left arm, bent the elbow. The white area behind and below this must have been a textile, a fold and some fringes at the bottom end of which can still be identified.

The small fragment in the lower left corner of the scene contains the lowermost portions of two figures (fig. 63). Although the feet of the figure to the left are barely distinguishable, the lower margin of the tunic falls over them in transverse folds that follow the roundness of the insteps, thus characterizing the long garment of a female figure. The deep blue tunic was presumably modeled with purple of various shades. Larger areas of the extant part of the garment are strongly eroded. Judging by the position of the feet, the figure is turned halfway to the right. The somewhat better preserved details of whatever is left of the second figure permits us to identify a male clad in a blue himation that reaches down to the ankles above his bare feet. The folds of this garment are highlighted with orange that has mostly faded out to white. The

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figure stands nearly frontally, apparently with a slight turn toward the woman at the left.

Not clear is the circumstance that both figures seem to stand upon what usually represents the diamond-pointed masonry of a wall, in this case the wall of Jerusalem. In Crucifixions containing this pattern the figures are shown standing on ground in front of the wall, not suspended against it (see Kurbinovo, fig. 38, or Studenica, fig. 45). The corresponding area in the Crucifixion on the opposite wall has deteriorated too far to show the positions of the figures in relation to the now perished wall pattern in that scene. The way the two figures in the Deposition fragment are placed upon what is traditionally meant to be a masonry wall might speak of a model misunderstood by the artist. Alternatively, the latter may have intentionally changed a wall motif into a floor pattern by adding an elaborate arcaded wall topped by a frieze, a small portion of which is still visible between the two figures.

2. The Evolution of the Deposition Theme

The fragmented state of the representation in Žiča makes it necessary to recapitulate the essential stages in the development of the theme before attempting to interpret its extant parts and reconstruct its composition.

The iconographic development of the Deposition scene has been comprehensively discussed by Millet and others.[168] Unlike the Crucifixion, which has a longstanding history of development in many variants, the Deposition enters representational arts not before the ninth century. Representations initially follow closely the brief Gospel

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accounts according to which Joseph of Arimathaea, with Pilate's permission and with the assistance of Nicodemus, removed the body of Christ from the cross, wrapped it in a linen cloth and carried it into his own new tomb (Matthew 27: 57-60; Mark 15: 42-46; Luke 23: 50-55; John 19: 38-40). The artist of the Codex Egberti from the tenth century depicts the first phase of this event in its essence (fig. 64). At the same time, however, an expansion of the composition begins in Byzantine painting by way of a gradual introduction of figures adopted from the Crucifixion episode, beginning with the Virgin and John. At first these figures remain passive bystanders in their role of witnesses of the dogma just as in the early stages of the Crucifixion, showing restrained grief by their gestures (see the Virgin in the Paris Gregory, fig. 48, or in an eleventh-century ivory in Utrecht, fig. 65). Under the influence of apocryphal and certain contemporary writings a marked change then takes place in the iconography of the Virgin, and later in that of John.[169] While Joseph stands on a stool or ladder and carries the main weight of Christ's body in his arms, the Virgin expresses her eagerness to help by seizing an arm of Christ, as one can see in the scene in fig. 66 that forms the lower part of the ivory relief in London (fig. 53), as well as in a Lectionary from the end of the twelfth century in Berlin (fig. 67).

The versions in which the feelings of tenderness on the part of the suffering mother for her son become the dominant motif of the theme have a far greater future. In these the Virgin clings to Christ and shows her unrestrained affection, as already appearing in the first half of the tenth century in the Tokalı kilise (fig. 68). Examples from the twelfth century are a fresco in Nerezi (fig. 69) or a bronze relief in the Ravello cathedral (fig. 70). At times the Virgin even gives Joseph substantial

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support in holding Christ's body, as depicted in an eleventh-century Lectionary in New York (fig. 71) or in the frescoes of Aquileia and Mileševa (figs. 72 and 73). In an equally frequent variant she presses her face upon Christ's right hand that has already been detached from the cross, for example in a tenth-century Gospel book in Florence (fig. 74), in a fresco in the Neophytos hermitage (fig. 75), or in the Iviron Codex (fig. 76).

In contrast with this evolution of the Virgin the attitude of John remains conservative for a much longer time. In the majority of the works cited, John displays the same gestures of contemplation and pensive grief as in the Crucifixion. It is in later periods only that he joins the Virgin in a more explicit demonstration of his emotions, bending down to Christ's hands or feet and touching them with his hands veiled, as in Nerezi (fig. 69), or in the Neophytos hermitage (fig. 75). Herein he already assumes a pose characteristic for the Lamentation scene like that in Nerezi (fig. 54).

The iconography of the women accompanying the Virgin develops in a similar direction. Following a profoundly Byzantine tradition the women display for a long time the same restraint in their gestures as seen in the Crucifixion. Formulas for the actions and gestures of the women such as shown in the Berlin Lectionary (fig. 67), the Ravello relief (fig. 70), the Neophytos fresco (fig. 75) or the Iviron Codex (fig. 76) could have been adopted directly from Crucifixion scenes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Toward the end of the twelfth and in the course of the thirteenth century some representations show the women becoming more actively involved in the event. In Mileševa (fig. 73) one woman takes a hand of Christ and presses her face on it, an action usually

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reserved for the Virgin who holds Christ in her arms. The more expressive gestures seen in Aquileia (fig. 72) belong to the standard vocabulary of lamentation and deathbed scenes.[170] Their inclusion in the Deposition and even in the Crucifixion signifies a gradual blending of traditionally Byzantine iconography with foreign elements, as was discussed earlier in connection with the gestures of the women in Crucifixions (see pp.50-51).

To sum up the evolution of the Deposition in Byzantine painting we may say that by the beginning of the thirteenth century the gradual incorporation of elements characteristic of the Crucifixion scene into the Deposition resulted in basically two versions:

1) Examples Nerezi (fig. 69), Ravello relief (fig. 70) and Aquileia (fig. 72). -- Christ's feet are still nailed to the cross while both hands have been freed. Joseph, clad in a long garment, stands frontally on a ladder or stool behind Christ whose strongly bent body he is holding in his arms. Nicodemus in a short tunic, kneeling always at the side opposite to which Christ's body droops, pulls the nails out of Christ's feet by means of some tongs. The Virgin stands at the side where the body of Christ is lowered and helps Joseph to hold it while affectionately drawing her face near that of Christ. John, standing near Nicodemus on the opposite side of the cross, usually retains his pose as in the Crucifixion, but occasionally participates also in the veneration of Christ. Keeping at some distance behind the Virgin, the women act as quiet bystanders and demonstrate their involvement by restrained gestures of sorrow and reverence.

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2) Examples Florence Gospel book (fig. 74), Neophytos fresco (fig. 75). -- In this version Christ's left hand as well as his feet are still attached to the cross. Nicodemus is about to free the hand with his tongs while standing either on a stepladder, a stool, or on the ground. The lowered right hand of Christ is held by the Virgin who presses her face on it. While Christ's head is inclined toward the Virgin, his body is standing erect, being held by Joseph who stands in profile between Christ and the Virgin and embraces the body with both hands. The actions and attitudes of John and the women show the same variations as in the preceding version.

3. Analysis of the Features in Žiča

a) The Central Group

Although most of the central part of the scene is missing, a careful comparison of what remains with all the works cited permits us to recognize a close resemblance between Žiča and the representations of the first version. Both hands of Christ were certainly freed, as indicated by the position of his head in relation to the crossarm above. The position of the left arm, faint traces of which are still visible, is in good agreement with the design in the Lectionaries in Berlin and New York (figs. 67 and 71) or the scene in Nerezi (fig. 69). The ladder, which must have been leaning against the cross, and the foot standing on it follow exactly the scheme of Nerezi (fig. 69) and the New York Lectionary (fig. 71). The foot belonged undoubtedly to Joseph who held Christ's body in his arms, as the works in this version show.[171] The traces of textile mentioned in the description must have represented the shroud held

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ready by Joseph, examples of which occur occasionally (see the fresco in the Neophytos hermitage, fig. 75, or the Iviron Codex, fig. 76).

b) The Virgin and John

It was demonstrated in the brief survey of the evolution of the Deposition theme that the Virgin assumes an ever more active role in that development. Beginning with the Deposition scene in the London ivory (fig. 66), all representations cited show the Virgin invariably standing near the central group and either accepting Christ's body in her arms or pressing her face upon his hand. The larger of the two fragments in Žiča (fig. 60), however, does not show the Virgin in close contact with the drooping body of Christ. Based upon the two common variants of the version represented in Žiča, that is either Nerezi (fig. 69) or Aquileia (fig. 72), the figure of the Virgin should either occupy the empty space between Christ and the three women, or else be standing in the lost area near the left margin of the fragment and actually behind the ladder, which is very unlikely. In compositions where the face of the Virgin is drawn near that of Christ with the two heads almost vertically one above the other (see Aquileia, fig. 72, and Mileševa, fig. 73), the halo of the Virgin then appears above Christ's head. The undisturbed halo of Christ in the fragment indicates clearly that the Virgin was never depicted there. Hence, if she does not approach the dead Christ in any manner and is not present in that part of the scene at all, there remains only the alternative to seek her in the fragmentary female figure at the opposite side of the panel (fig. 63).

Crucifixion scenes showing the Virgin and St John standing together on one side of the cross already occur in the sixth century and

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have a longstanding tradition in Oriental, Byzantine, and Western iconography.[172] In earlier cases the two figures are both facing Christ in symmetry with the figures placed at the opposite side of the cross as seen in the Rabbula Gospels (fig. 30). Later representations of this type usually show the Virgin and John standing in the foreground near the left margin of the scene and turning halfway to each other, whereby John happens to be standing with his back turned to Christ. Examples for this scheme are the ivory in London (fig. 53), a miniature in the Melisende Psalter, dated 1131-43 (fig. 77), and an eleventh to thirteenth-century icon on Mount Sinai (fig. 78). As pointed out by Millet on the basis of some eleventh-century manuscripts,[173] the initial meaning of this peculiar composition was merely to show John leading the Virgin away as his new mother following Christ's commendation (see John 19: 27). In the trend of enriching the scene with human emotions the actions of the two figures were subsequently elaborated in order to demonstrate the Virgin's grief and need of support. In Western art in particular the motif became the point of departure for a longstanding iconography of the painful state of the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene (see pp. 48-50). In variations of the basic configuration the place of John is taken by one of the women (see Aquileia, fig. 44), or the Virgin and John trade places as in the relief in Cologne (fig. 52). Whatever the variant may be, it is essential to note that of the two figures represented in this group, one is always the Virgin.

These comparisons lead to the conclusion that the two fragmentary figures in Žiča must represent the Virgin accompanied by St John, whose blue himation even shows the same modeling with orange as in the Crucifixion. Although their positions seem to correspond

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closely to those in the Melisende Psalter (fig. 77) and the Sinai icon (fig. 78), there is no way to determine their actions and gestures.[174] In all probability they stood in quiet poses as in the examples mentioned, symmetrically repeating the group of the two women standing in the foreground on the opposite side, thus lending the scene a sense of balance and monumentality likewise observable in the Crucifixion scene in the south transept.

c) The Women

The scriptures mention the presence of the women mainly in connection with the Crucifixion and the Entombment of Christ. The women entered the Deposition scene gradually in the course of the expansion of the theme, adopted from the Crucifixion as were the Virgin and John.

Number.

The number of the women appearing in the Deposition scene varies accordingly (see p. 50). Discussing a scene of the Women at the Tomb, Weitzmann points out that Byzantine iconography shows regularly two Myrophoroi, adhering to the account of Matthew (28: 1-8), whereas the West prefers three, based on Mark (16: 1-7).[175] It is not clear whether Weitzmann considers such a rule applicable to other episodes of the Passion cycle. At any rate, he himself uses it as a criterion for interpreting the presence of three women in an Entombment scene as a Western tradition, although both Matthew (27: 61) and Mark (15:47) speak of only two women watching Christ's burial. It is true that Weitzmann's objects examined in that analysis comprise early works dating up to the eleventh century at the latest. Describing a

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slightly later (eleventh-twelfth-century) Lamentation scene (fig. 79), which he calls the final stage in the development of the Threnos toward its canonical form, he does not comment on the fact that in this typically Byzantine representation there already are three women present whom he merely mentions as the "other Maries".[176] This identification is incorrect according to the remaining evangelists: Luke speaks only of "women" (23: 55), and John does not mention them at all. The rule of two women in Byzantine versus three in Western iconography thus appears to lose its validity in other Passion episodes, especially those of later periods. Otherwise such thirteenth-century monuments as St Mark's in Venice, Aquileia, Studenica, Žiča, Mavriotissa, or Sopoćani, -- all showing in their Crucifixion or Deposition scenes at least three women -- would signify the growing penetration of a Western motif into Byzantine painting. The diversity in the number of women participating in the Passion scenes, ranging from none to as many as four, reflects the complicated evolution of the themes of the Passion cycle. As was shown by Millet,[177] the compositional formulas originally developed in accordance with this or that scriptural account underwent constant modifications in the course of the centuries. A further complexity of this evolutionary process was caused by periodic recurrences of ancient models, of which some were subsequently retained while others went out of fashion again. Consequently, for an advanced period like the thirteenth century it is hardly possible to link particular elements of the scene with a specific reference in the Gospels. The number of three women in the Deposition in Žiča may have derived from three sources: first, from Crucifixions following the accounts of the synoptics Matthew and Mark; second, from episodes of the Women at the Tomb according

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to Mark and Luke only; and third, from Passion episodes of later origin (Deposition, Entombment, Lamentation) in which the initial number of the two women (Matthew, Mark) increased to three under the influence of Crucifixion and Tomb scenes. Caution seems therefore appropriate regarding the notion that Western tradition should, solely on grounds of scriptural references, be made responsible in each case where three women appear instead of two. The monuments mentioned above as showing three or more women admittedly are mostly located in Western borderlands of the Byzantine region. The two outposts, Venice and Aquileia, even present four women, the latter in both the Crucifixion and Deposition. The Crusader icon on Mount Sinai (fig. 49) also has three women.

Notwithstanding all this evidence, one should remember that it was a Byzantine idea to expand the ancient Syrian composition of the Crucifixion, which originally had followed exclusively the Gospel of John, and to modify it by introducing elements from the accounts of the Synoptics as discussed before (see pp. 43-44). Already the Rabbula Gospels (fig. 30) indicate this new combination by the presence of three women who replaced the two mentioned by John, even though this caused a disturbance of the symmetry and compositional balance. It is only after Iconoclasm that the Byzantines begin to abbreviate this modified design by omitting or reducing various components of it, thus creating the standard Middle Byzantine formula as represented in the Crucifixion in Žiča. The West, on the other hand, never gave up entirely that revised preiconoclastic composition and preserved it side by side with more recent Byzantine variants until the Renaissance.

Haloes.

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A feature that seems in a similar way to reflect changes in iconographic concepts of different periods and regions is the haloes of the women. In both Passion scenes in Žiča the women are depicted with haloes. The representations cited so far demonstrate that the employment of this feature is by no means uniform. In preiconoclastic times the handling of this attribute of sainthood appears to be quite arbitrary. In the Crucifixion scene of the Rabbula Gospels, for instance, it is only Christ and the Virgin who are distinguished in this manner (fig. 30). Neither the women nor even John have a nimbus here. But on the same page below this scene, in the episodes of the Women at the Tomb and *Noli Me Tangere*, one of the women, presumably Mary Magdalene, is haloed.[178] A seventh or eighth-century enamel on the lid of the Fieschi Reliquary in the Metropolitan Museum in New York shows in its center a three-figure image of the Crucifixion with all figures -- Christ, John and the Virgin -- haloed, while the busts of apostles and saints framing the scene are without halo.[179]

With the development of standard images for the Passion cycle in the Middle Byzantine period the employment of haloes also becomes codified, whereby a peculiar differentiation can be observed. From approximately the eleventh century onward haloed women tend to become a regular feature either in provincial and peripheral works, or in those that in some other details betray foreign influences. Thus, haloed women appear in most extant Crucifixion or Deposition scenes of Cappadocia (Samanlıgı, 50;[180] Çarıklı, 54; Elmalı, 55; Karanlık, fig. 41; Karabaş, fig. 40; Saklı, 59; Tagar, 60), Macedonia (Kurbinovo, fig. 38; Hagioi Anargyroi, 75) or Serbia (Žiča; Mileševa, fig. 73; Sopoćani, fig. 51). Some works of minor art earlier mentioned as containing un-

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Byzantine elements also show the women with haloes, for example the enamel in Munich (fig. 42), the steatite in Athens (fig. 39), and the Crusader icon on Sinai (fig. 49).

Conspicuously absent are haloes on the women in genuine Byzantine works, especially of either known or strongly suggested metropolitan provenance, for example the Nea Moni in Chios (fig. 35), the Parma Gospels (fig. 36), the Lectionary ms.gr. 1156 (fig.79), the Iviron Codex (figs. 31 and 76), and Nerezi (fig. 54). In the light of the discussion concerning the number of women in the Passion scenes of such relatively late monuments as St Mark's in Venice, Aquileia, Studenica, or Mavriotissa (see pp. 73-74) the absence of haloes seems to indicate how alien to Greek thinking must have been the custom of giving haloes to the women. That the resistance to this custom on the part of the Byzantines remained unchanged throughout the Late Byzantine period and afterwards is confirmed by such works in the best Constantinopolitan tradition as a Crucifixion decorating the lid of a fourteenth-century reliquary of Cardinal Bessarion,[181] or a Deposition scene on the frame of a sixteenth-century icon of the Virgin.[182] Unfortunately, very little can be said about Western representations of the Passion scenes for the period considered. Those available to me comprise mostly ivories and other works of minor art, usually presenting reduced versions for lack of space. In the few cases in which the women do appear, for example in the silver relief in Cologne (fig. 52), these are haloed. The absence of haloes in the very Byzantinizing cycle in Sant' Angelo in Formis of ca. 1100[183] is almost to be expected, just as at a much later time in a Crucifixion scene of Duccio.[184] But the apparently traditional preference of the West for haloed women in the

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Passion scenes, already recognizable in the thirteenth century, comes to its full expression in the art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[185]

Haloes are widely and, one might say, indiscriminately used in the Christian East. Syrian, Palestinian, or Coptic manuscript illumination not only shows the women with haloes as a standard feature, but quite frequently abounds in this detail even in many-figured representations such as the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, or the Ascension, sharply contrasting herein with Byzantine practice.[186] The influence of the latter, whenever becoming evident, brings about a restraint in the use of the haloes just as indicated above in the case of Western works. This might explain the absence of a halo on the woman in the Crucifixion in the Armenian Gospel book (fig. 37).

Gestures.

One of the women in the Deposition panel in Žiča displays a typical gesture of lamentation, throwing both hands upward in despair (fig. 61). This gesture is a common ingredient of the Lamentation scene, appearing for instance in the Vatican Lectionary (fig. 79) or in Kurbinovo (fig. 80). Yet in Passion episodes preceding the Lamentation, that is in the Crucifixion or the Deposition, its occurrence is definitely exceptional and indicates influences from traditions outside the Byzantine sphere. The presence of a lamenting woman in the Crucifixion that shows a mixture of Byzantine and western elements was already mentioned (see the Crusader icon in fig. 49, and p. 51). Gestures of lamentation in Deposition scenes are found in two miniatures that probably represent an Oriental tradition. In the first, a Coptic manuscript from around 1180 (fig. 81), there are, besides the central group, only two women present. Standing away from the cross they

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show the typical gestures of violent grief and despair. The second example is from a Syrian Gospel book dated 1226 (fig. 82). Here it is John who raises his hands in a manner very similar to the woman in Žiča, in fact a very atypical gesture for John.

The examination of various details connected with the iconography of the women such as number, haloes, and gestures does not imply the use of direct Western or Eastern models by the artist of Žiča. The observations merely exemplify the process of blending motifs from various sources in Byzantine, Western, and Oriental representations of the Passion cycle. This process doubtless intensified in the wake of the changing historic situation in the early thirteenth century.

d) The Compositional Layout

After identifying and examining the main personages in the fragments of the Deposition scene in Žiča, the basic design of the original representation may be reconstructed approximately as follows. In the center stood the cross against which a ladder was leaning from the right. Standing on the ladder nearly frontally was Joseph of Arimathaea, holding the dead Christ whose hands were already freed, causing the body to droop strongly to the right. On the left side of the cross there was Nicodemus kneeling on the ground and pulling the nails from Christ's feet which were both still attached to the cross. This central group had its nearest parallels (without the accompanying figures) in works like the Lectionaries in Berlin and New York (figs. 67 and 71), the bronze relief in Ravello (fig. 70), or the fresco in Nerezi (fig. 69). It was flanked at the left by the two figures of the Virgin and St

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John, at the right by the group of three women. The event was depicted as taking place before the wall of Jerusalem. The city was shown in the background in the form of some buildings similar to the architectural setting in the Crucifixion scene.

There are certain things in this scene that make it appear a rather peculiar and unexpected version among other works of its time. To begin with, its iconographic elements derive from three different themes. First, the central group of Christ, Joseph, and Nicodemus represents the actual Deposition theme in its original form. Second, the group of the Virgin and John occurs in this particular arrangement exclusively in Crucifixion scenes, as was shown earlier. Its introduction into a Deposition appears to be a unique variant. And third, the unusual gesture of lamentation displayed by one of the women connects this group of women to the Lamentation scene. The combination of these three groups forms a scene that despite all differences in the choice and arrangement of the participating figures has one striking feature in common with the two miniatures of Coptic and Syrian origin (figs. 81 and 82): None of the figures flanking the central group, not even the Virgin, indicates a desire to approach, let alone touch Christ's body with affection and reverence as established by that time in both Byzantine and Western iconography. Žiča actually goes one step further. In the two miniatures the bystanding figures are at least integrated in the scene in that they are watching the action taking place before their eyes and react to it with appropriate gestures. The figures in Žiča do not really participate in the event. Some even turn away, forming, as it were, self-contained units. Such an arrangement stands in marked contrast to the increasingly centripetal composition of the Deposition theme in

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general as it more and more begins to acquire that same "hieratic" or "iconic" quality, to use Weitzmann's terms, as found in a mature Lamentation scene.[187] Even a cursory look at the majority of Depositions cited, especially that in Nerezi (fig. 69) or in the Neophytos hermitage (fig. 75), confirms that the composition in Žiča has very little of a liturgical quality. The juxtaposition of elements taken from other Passion episodes attests to a rather narrative character in a very specific sense, as explained below.

There does not seem to exist a close model for this painting. While the traditional participants in this scene from the eleventh and twelfth centuries onward are all present here, which would favor a relatively late model dating from that period, the formal dissociation of the two lateral groups from the group in the center, and especially the Virgin's detached position in relation to Christ certainly points to an iconography preceding the evolution of the Deposition scene. As has been demonstrated, the stage for this development is set at the moment when the Virgin begins to assist Joseph in taking Christ's body from the cross. Byzantine representations do not show this moment before the tenth century (see the fresco in the Tokalı kilise, fig. 68, or the Gospels in Florence, fig. 74), while Western artists of the same period leave the Virgin out altogether, adhering for some time to the basic scheme as seen in the Egbert Codex (fig. 64) and adopting the Byzantine concept afterwards. The composition in Žiča, then, appears to follow a version preceding that evolution in the tenth century, yet already introducing the Virgin as a quiet witness similar to the design in the later Utrecht ivory (fig. 65). Unfortunately, ninth-century representations of the Deposition, not to mention this particular version, are rare at best. One

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of the earliest examples in which both the Virgin and John appear as sole bystanders is the scene in the Paris Gregory (fig. 48). Even though its composition differs somewhat from that in Žiča, it is in this line that one has to assume a further development. To be sure, the two figures in the Gregory scene still acknowledge the event they are witnessing. The Virgin still raises her veiled hands in grief as she did in the Rabbula scene (fig. 30). However, John is already turning away from the cross exactly as in Žiča, and only a minor rearrangement of the two figures leads to an analogous configuration in relation to the cross. Taking the Passion scenes in the Paris Gregory that include this Deposition as a point of departure in his study of the Threnos, Weitzmann interprets John's curious pose as an intention of the artist to fuse this scene with that of the Entombment of Christ which follows directly to the right of John in the same strip.[188] Moreover, in the expansion of the Crucifixion scene beyond the dividing line into the lower strip he sees an indication that the artist strove to combine all scenes into one compositional unit.

It is possible that the artist in Žiča had similar intentions of fusing several episodes of the Passion cycle, yet he went a different way. In taking, instead of entire scenes, one of their elements only and setting these side by side without visible connection, he created a curious combination of isolated motifs. A beholder in the thirteenth century was familiar with each of these motifs from contemporary Passion scenes, but the overall design of this Deposition scene was certainly not what he had been used to seeing in his life time.

It must be realized that these considerations can hardly contribute to finding an indisputable answer to the question about a model for the layout in Žiča. As indicated in the analysis of the Crucifixion, these

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paintings were produced in a period when the boundaries between Eastern, Western, and Byzantine iconography became less distinct. The option of models offering themselves for this or that motif in the Crucifixion is equally valid in the present case. Considering, for instance, the lamenting woman in this Deposition, her presence could indicate a conflation intended by the artist, but it could equally well attest to some Oriental or Western influence. Moreover, the unusual attitude of the women in relation to Christ somehow resembles that in the Coptic Gospel book (fig. 81) where the central event stands out isolated in a large vacant space. Squeezed to the very edge of the scene are the women lamenting in horror and not daring to approach the dead Christ. Such a violent expression of grief is of course totally un-Byzantine and would hardly fit into the spirit of Žiča. Still, these women are equally far away from Christ, turning their backs to him and comforting one another in their sorrow. It is a suitable example for Millet's frequent notion about the contrast between Byzantium and the East, about gestures that have "..cette franchise que l'Orient oppose toujours à la réserve byzantine."[189]

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4. Conclusions

The examination of the two Passion scenes in Žiča permits us to state now with some confidence that their painter does not present his themes entirely in a conventional form as measured by Byzantine standards that were shaped during the preceding epoch of Comnenian art. Side by side with a customary iconography found in numerous representations of the twelfth century, the artist employs motifs and details that in Byzantine Passion scenes had become obsolete two centuries before, if not earlier. The composition of the Deposition scene in particular creates the impression of a conscious reversion to posticonoclastic forms and concepts. However, a number of those uncommon motifs occur rather frequently in Western iconography. It is therefore impossible, to decide whether the work in Žiča represents indeed a genuine revival of the art of the Macedonian era. In a time of increased exposure of Byzantine artists to Western concepts following the occupation of large areas and major artistic centers by the Crusaders, one may ask to what extent Byzantine iconography remained Byzantine from the viewpoint of preceding periods. Žiča did not stand alone in adopting contemporary foreign motifs, yet there is no way to know how much its master was aware of the ultimate origin of some of his immediate models, be they Western or Oriental. The deplorable state of preservation of the paintings remains the principal reason for all inadequacies and uncertainties in these conclusions.

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C. The Apostles

Originally all wall surfaces of the two transept arms facing or adjoining the Passion scenes on the east walls were decorated with the standing figures of the Twelve Apostles arranged in two groups of six figures in each transept. Within the two groups four figures occupied the west wall opposite the Passion scene, and two flanked the windows of the south and north wall respectively. Presently this arrangement is more or less preserved in the south transept only (figs. 5, 6, and 7). The north transept contains now merely the heavily damaged figures of two apostles to the left and right of the windows in the north wall (fig. 8). Whatever remained of the paintings on the west wall until this century was destroyed by a shell during World War II.[190]

1. Description

All extant figures of the apostles are taller than life-size, measuring approximately 220 centimeters, as compared to a size of about 174 centimeters for the figures of Christ or John in the Crucifixion scene.

a) The Figures in the South Transept

The figure depicted on the south wall between the windows and the east wall represents the Apostle Peter (figs. 83 and 88). He is identified by his name which is written in Slavonic script (ПЄТРЪ) and located in the space between his nimbus and the edge of the window. The apostle is turned slightly to the left as indicated by the position of his right leg and foot, and by the half profile of his face. He wears a blue tunic the wide sleeves of which are decorated at the shoulders by a broad

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yellowish band. The upper garment consists of a mantle of ochre color part of which is laid as a broad belt around his waist and is then thrown over the left shoulder and upper left arm, covering the body in longstretched folds. The shapes of upper and lower legs underneath the garment protrude as areas prominently modeled with dark brown folds. The features are partly eroded, showing just faint marks for the nose and the eyebrows. A few traces remain of Peter's short, rounded, and presumably grey beard. Better preserved is his dense grey hair, the curls framing his forehead in the form of a wreath. The left arm of the apostle is slightly bent at the elbow; the hand carries a scroll. The right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing characterized by the bent ring finger crossing the thumb while the other fingers remain more or less straight.

The halo of Peter, and for that matter of all other apostles, wherever extant, shows the same state of deterioration as that of the haloes in the Passion scenes. All gilding, if it had existed before, has disappeared. The base layer of ochre color is in many places eroded, exposing the grey painting ground. The formerly very dark (brown or black) contour line of the haloes appears to have been bordered by a thin white line which is preserved only in a very few places.

The apostle is standing before a dark blue background that continues from the Crucifixion panel along the remaining walls of the transept. The figures stand on a dark green ground that borders the background at a level slightly above their ankles.

To the right of Peter stands Luke who occupies the wall space between the windows and the west wall (figs. 84 and 89). He is identified by a poorly visible and fragmentary inscription (ЄТЬІ ІѮК·ꙋ) flanking his halo. A book in his left hand, sumptuously embellished with pearls

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and jewels, distinguishes him as an evangelist. Although he stands frontally and looks straight at the beholder, a certain *contrapposto* of the figure is suggested by the slightly curved lines of the hip and the thighs. However, these lines cause the position of the right foot to appear rather awkward in relation to upper leg and knee (see fig. 90).

The apostle is clad in a blue tunic the folds of which are modeled with various shades of the same color. A purplish mantle covers the tunic in a scheme much like the mantle of Peter, except that Luke's right forearm rests in a rather tight sling of the mantle laid around his upper arm. The drapery appears to have been touched up at later times. Its bold highlighting with whites contrasts sharply with the subdued and transparent modeling of the other figures. The features, although still somewhat identifiable, can no longer be described in detail. The dense brown hair is shaped as a crown which leaves a bare spot at the vertex indicating a tonsure. The right hand is turned inward. It might display a gesture of blessing, since the upper two segments of the ring finger are bent inward towards the thumb.

The panel on the west wall has been extensively eroded in its upper part. Of the four apostles depicted here (fig. 85) the left two have lost their heads down to the shoulders as well as their inscriptions. The first figure on the left is shown with a book, and thus representing an evangelist (figs. 86 and 91). He stands in frontal position, but the weight of the body rests more on the left leg as indicated by the straight and undisturbed arrangement of the drapery over the left leg, and by the accentuation of the right knee by rounded folds (fig. 92). The right foot is set slightly sideways. The exaggerated highlighting of the right thigh appears to have been added later, just as in Luke. The apostle wears an

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olive green himation over a blue tunic that is ornamented in some places with orange or brownish stripes. The richly decorated Gospel book rests in the apostle's left hand in a slanted position while the right hand is placed over its long edge.

The apostle following to the right is dressed in an orange or ochre tunic and a green himation which is worn in the same manner as that of the foregoing figures (figs. 87 and 93). Standing on his right leg he has set his left foot slightly forward. His position is frontal. In his left hand he holds a scroll. The right hand is turned inward and held before the breast. It has strongly faded, being located near the edge of the damaged area.

The next figure to the right represents the Apostle Simon, whose inscription, written in two lines to the right of his nimbus, is fragmentarily preserved (ⲤⲒⲘⲰⲚ ⲘⲆ). Head and shoulders are partially destroyed (fig. 94). The figure appears more massive than the preceding ones. He wears a blue himation over a pinkish tunic. The mantle belts his waist in a wide band and falls over his body in broad voluminous folds modeled with greyish tones. The folds of the wide-sleeved tunic are modeled with reddish brown colors. The left hand carries a scroll while the right hand, turned inward, is held before the chest in a gesture of speech. A notable feature is Simon's bald head. Since much of the surface paint is lost, only a few details remain of his face (fig. 95). He has a tall forehead and dark brown eyebrows. The eyes, especially the left one, appear to have been gouged. The shape of the nose is not definable. A moustache and a rounded beard of very dark color frame a prominent chin.

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Simon seems to be involved in a discourse with the apostle standing to his left (fig. 85). Both figures are placed close together and turn slightly to each other as indicated by the three quarters and half profile turn of their heads, respectively, and by the positions of their feet. This apostle standing next to Simon is the last in the group depicted in the south transept (fig. 96). His inscription is not extant. Judging by the slender youthful figure and the beardless face he represents one of the younger disciples such as Thomas or Philip.[191] He wears a wide-sleeved tunic decorated with brown ribbons as seen on the right sleeve and around the legs. The color of the tunic was olive green but has faded in most places. The mantle, presumably of pinkish color, is modeled with reddish brown in its shaded parts. The garment flows freely over the body without being wrapped around the waist as in the other figures. Thrown over the left shoulder it forms a loose sling before the chest, in which the right hand rests in a blessing gesture. The left hand holds a scroll. The apostle has brown hair that covers his head in long strands and falls in soft waves over the back of his neck (fig. 97). His face is mostly eroded. Some traces of the left eye and brow remain, but the soft contours and shades around cheekbone and chin are still discernible and betray a youthful face.

b) The Figures in the North Transept

Because of their extremely poor condition little can be said about the two figures still existing here on the north wall (figs. 98, 99). Their heads are destroyed, and neither can be identified. More or less recognizable is a book carried by each in the folds of the garment. Their left hands are held before them, but the gestures are not clear. The

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figure standing frontally between the windows and the west wall (fig. 98) wears what was once a light blue or purple tunic, covered by an olive green mantle. The other figure (fig. 99), located in the space between window and east wall, is clad in an orange or yellow mantle and what was originally a dark blue tunic, patches of which are still visible around the legs. Judging by the near-profile view of the left knee and calf the figure evidently was, by analogy with Peter, turned toward the Passion scene on the east wall.

2. Comparisons

An iconographic examination of the apostles in Žiča must unfortunately be limited to the securely identifiable figures of Peter, Luke, and Simon. Sources for their individual qualities and attributes are historical scenes from the New Testament cycle such as the Washing of the Feet, the Eucharist, the Doubting of Thomas, the Mission of the Apostles, the Pentecost, the Last Judgement, and the Koimesis. Furthermore, there are other scenes, for example the Miracles of Christ, in which a few disciples usually participate as attendants or witnesses. In the same function they appear in representative scenes with Christ or the Virgin enthroned, displaying here individual attributes that may be absent in narrative scenes.

a) The Apostle Peter

In the iconographic development of the apostles the figure of Peter is one of the first to have acquired a distinct image. Already by the fifth century the Apostle assumes, together with Paul, an elevated position

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among the Twelve.[192] In representative scenes of that period such as Christ Amidst His Disciples the two Princes of the Apostles symmetrically occupy the places next to Christ, for instance in the late fourth-century mosaic in the church of S. Aquilino in Milan,[193] or in the apse mosaic of S Pudenziana in Rome from around 390-400.[194] These scenes already show the established types of the two Apostles. Peter is a man of advanced age. His face, of rather square shape and with a relatively short nose, is framed by a short but dense, grey, rounded beard and equally dense, slightly wavy or curly hair that is either uniformly grey or shows some darker streaks. Above the forehead and over the temples the hair is combed forward and ends in tidy curls resembling a crown or wreath. Of numerous examples the fifth-century dome mosaics of the Orthodox[195] and Arian[196] baptisteries in Ravenna, or the sixth-century apse mosaic of the church of SS Cosmas and Damian in Rome (fig. 100) may be mentioned. This iconographic type of Peter was generally adopted by Early Christian artists for the depiction of old bearded men.[197] It derives ultimately from head types of the tetrarchic and Constantinian period during which, for example, the type of the bearded Good Shepherd was developed.[198] The typically Roman hairdo and facial type of Peter as shown in the examples cited is found frequently in the reliefs of the arch of Constantine (ca. 315). We see it in the group of senators accompanying Constantine in the Oratio scene (fig. 101).

This image of Peter as established in Early Christian times remains essentially unchanged throughout the centuries, minor variations in the hairdo apparently reflecting individual interpretations.[199] Typical representations from the Middle Byzantine

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period are found in a mosaic in the narthex of Hosios Lukas from around 1000 (fig. 102), and in wall paintings at Nerezi of 1164,[200] and at Studenica of 1209 (fig. 103). The Peter in Žiča seems to follow the same conventional type.

b) The Apostle Luke

Individualized features were initially given only to Peter, Paul, Andrew, and John the Theologian, while the remaining apostles acquired these, if at all, after Iconoclasm.[201] The Apostle Luke in the Middle Byzantine period appears as a man of uncertain age. His dark, dense, curly hair contrasts with the sunken cheeks of his lean, at times triangular face. A marked feature is the sparse beard which barely hides the jaws and ends in a few short unkempt strands under the chin. A further distinct detail is the tonsure that crowns Luke's head from the twelfth century onward but may occasionally be seen earlier. Typical images of this apostle appear in the Koimesis church at Nicaea in a mosaic from around 1065 (fig. 104), in the Metropolitan church at Serres from the early twelfth century (fig. 105), or in the church of St George at Kurbinovo from 1191 (fig. 106). The representation in Žiča (see figs. 84 and 89) has lost too much of the paint to allow accurate comparison with the works mentioned. Still, such details as the thin short beard framing the drawn face, and especially the tonsure allow us to recognize the traditional type of Luke.

c) The Apostle Simon

Equally closely following an established model is the representation of the Apostle Simon, the last of the identifiable figures in the transepts (see fig. 95). In the eleventh century Simon is

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characterized by a dark, dense but neatly groomed, rounded beard, and by an advanced baldness creating the impression of a conspicuously tall forehead as demonstrated by a mosaic in the cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, dating from 1043-46 (fig. 107). These qualities of Simon are preserved throughout the following century and appear in works near in time to Žiča, for example in Monreale in the 1180s (fig. 108), and in the cathedral of St Demetrius at Vladimir around 1195 (fig. 109).

d) General and Individual Attributes

All extant figures of the apostles in Žiča hold in their hands either books or scrolls. The scrolls appear as their common attributes in the fourth century in scenes depicting Christ as Teacher of the Apostles, for example on the sarcophagus of Concordius at Arles around 390, and a sarcophagus in the church of S. Ambrogio at Milan of approximately 380.[202] Very likely in the same period a distinction between evangelists and apostles proper began to take shape, as one can see on the sarcophagus in Arles.[203] Among the apostles flanking Christ the four evangelists are marked here by holding unrolled scrolls or open books bearing their names. By the sixth century the book as a specific attribute of an evangelist becomes a standard motif. An open book displaying the name of its author replaces the unrolled scroll in the evangelist images on the walls of the presbytery of San Vitale in Ravenna.[204] A Palestinian ampulla of that period, displaying a scene of the Doubting Thomas shows among the twelve apostles four figures holding, as it appears, jewel-studded books.[205]

The inclusion of all four evangelists in representations of the Twelve was preceded by the inclusion of Paul, the Apostle of the nations.

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Holding a scroll, he is already heading the row of figures seated at Christ's left in the mosaic of San Aquilino in Milan.[206] In the nearly contemporary apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana he holds a book,[207] which subsequently has become the standard attribute of Paul just as it was shown in the case of the evangelists.

Thus the new set of the twelve Apostles, differing notably from the original composition mentioned in the Scriptures,[208] displays five figures with books -- Paul and the four evangelists -- while the remaining seven are shown with either scrolls or their specific attributes. This setup was transmitted to the posticonoclastic centuries as a standard iconographic formula, well demonstrated in the narthex mosaics of Hosios Lukas[209] or in the apse mosaic of Cefalù from 1148 (fig. 110). Of the four extant figures in Žiča shown with books, one is located next to the Deposition scene in the north transept (fig. 99). Since he occupies a place analogous to that of Peter in the south transept, he very probably represents Paul. The second figure on the north wall is an unidentified evangelist (fig. 98), in symmetry with Luke who follows Peter on the south wall. One of the remaining two evangelists is recognizable on the west wall of the south transept (fig. 91). Hence, the fourth evangelist must have been among the four perished figures in the north transept.

Apart from books and scrolls, general or nonindividual attributes of the apostles occur in the form of cross staffs and wreaths predominantly in Early Christian and Early Byzantine art.[210] After Iconoclasm only Andrew and Peter preserve the cross staff as a specific attribute. It is Peter in particular who from the beginning is distinguished by cross staff and keys, of which he may display either the

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first,[211] the second,[212] or both.[213] Each of these attributes may in turn be combined with a scroll held by the Apostle in the left hand while the right is raised in a gesture of blessing, attestation, or acclamation.[214] This variety, which occurs exclusively in the figure of Peter, reflects perhaps as much a discretion of the artist as the nature of the scene. The lack of any individual attribute in the Peter of Žiča doubtless reveals the artist's idea regarding the program in the transepts. The apostles function here as witnesses of the Passion scenes on the east walls, occupying as beholders the remaining wall spaces. Peter clearly participates across the space in the Crucifixion scene, at which he is pointing with his right hand. His presence in a historic scene renders, in Byzantine understanding, all his personal attributes inappropriate.

A somewhat similar case might perhaps be found in the narthex of Hosios Lukas. The apostles appear in a representative manner as attendants of the Pantokrator who is depicted in the lunette above the central door. At the same time, however, they occupy the soffits of the arches that separate the christological scenes and act, as it were, as witnesses of the historic events. Maybe for this reason Peter is, just as in Žiča, shown with the scroll only (see fig. 102).

A different situation presents itself in Sopoćani (ca. 1265). Here the figures of the twelve apostles form, together with those of some saints, a continuous row distributed over all walls of the two transept arms. Only the vaults of the transepts are decorated with some scenes such as the Hospitality of Abraham, the Baptism of Christ, and the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. Peter and Paul are heading the two rows of apostles on the east walls as in Hosios Lukas. However, they do not form a

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retinue, nor are they connected with the scenes above their heads. Consequently, Peter appears not only with a scroll but also with his cross staff and keys.[215]

D. The Archangels

The two doors leading from the naos into the south and north chapel are crowned by small lunettes of 87 cms width and approximately 48 cms height (figs. 9 and 10). These display two winged half-figures the attire and attributes of which identify them as archangels. Both paintings, especially that on the north side, have suffered the same loss of paint as seen in the paintings of the transepts. Any inscriptions have completely vanished.

1. Description

a) The Archangel in the South Lunette

The body of the figure, visible to the waist, is frontally posed (fig. 111). His head is slightly turned to the left. The features, now mostly distorted by scratches and loss of paint, are somewhat better recognizable in an old photograph made before 1935 (fig. 112). Except for a few brown streaks very little detail remains of the hair. Its lower part behind the neck is not recognizable, which creates the impression of a rather short hairdo. Judging by the shape of the light area stretching across the hair the angel must have worn a ribbon. The nimbus is outlined by a dark brown interior and a white exterior line. No traces of

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gilding have survived on its yellowish ochre base layer. The wings, symmetrically spread over the lateral spaces of the lunette, also have lost much of their original colors. The upper feathers still indicate the darkest tones of grey or black followed by a blue band, while the lower feathers are painted in light ochre or beige resembling the color of the nimbus.

The archangel is clad in Byzantine imperial vestments. Laid around the shoulders and extending downward over the chest is the *loros* -- a broad, richly ornamented scarf of purple color. Its inner field appears to have been decorated with pinkish orange rosettes while the borders are embellished with a dense row of pearls. The *loros* partly covers the *divitision* -- a heavy and voluminous, purplish violet garment of which no details remain except for a few vertical folds along the right edge of the *loros*. Of the undergarment, the *chiton* or tunic, perhaps only a now bleak orange cuff around the wrist of the right hand is visible. But it might equally well belong to the *divitision*.

The right hand carries a scepter or staff that for some length above the shoulder is hidden behind the nimbus and reemerges near the upper edge of the lunette. It is perhaps topped by a small cross studded with four pearls at its ends. Of the left hand only some traces of the fingers are visible near the lower edge of the field. They hold an orb, any particulars of which are also eroded, leaving merely the white base pigment and some faint spots of shading. The figure is set against a blue background that meets a dark green groundline.

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b) The Archangel in the North Lunette

Although still extant, the figure has suffered severe effacement (fig. 113). Some of its details could actually not be identified without a comparison with its counterpart in the south lunette in as much as both resemble one another to a great extent. Of the face only a trace of the right eye and a thin shading around the chin survive. Position and action of the hands are not definable anymore but can be deduced from those of the opposite angel, since the staff and sphere are still discernible by a thin, black, vertical line and the barely visible outline. Just as in the preceding angel, the staff is covered above the shoulder by the nimbus. Its upper end has vanished. The wings, particularly the lighter colored lower feathers, have lost all surface paint. The same is true of the largely bleached background. Its originally dark blue color is preserved only in a narrow area below the protruding frame of the lunette.

The garment of the archangel is also seriously damaged. Apart from a few specks along the folds all paint has faded from the *divitision*. The *loros*, on the other hand, still has retained retained some of its ornament in spots. Its borders are decorated with a double row of densely set pearls, whereas the center strip now consists merely of patches of orange-brown color. Very faint traces of a collar around the neck are visible in this image. It extends over the upper edges of the *loros* as a narrow band and opens in front as indicated by a small V-shaped shadow. However, it is not possible to determine whether this collar belongs to the *divitision* or to the *chiton* usually worn below it.

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2. Comparisons

Representations of angels as half-length figures and busts, occurring as early as the sixth century,[216] form a common constituent of the Middle Byzantine decorational program. Of numerous examples may be mentioned the archangel in the medallion flanking the Christ enthroned in the narthex mosaic of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, dating from around 900,[217] the mosaic of the Archangel Michael in the apse of the prothesis in the Nea Moni, from 1042-54,[218] and the contemporary medallions of archangels in the dome in the south gallery of Saint Sophia at Kiev (fig. 114).[219] To the last decades of the twelfth century belong the wall paintings of archangels in medallions surrounding the Pantokrator in the dome of the Panhagia Arakiotissa at Lagoudera (fig. 115), the roundels with archangels and angels topping, as a band, the upper register in the nave of Monreale,[220] and finally the painting of the Archangel Michael in a lunette in the narthex of Sant' Angelo in Formis.[221]

a) The Garments

Both figures in Žiča wear a *divitision* and a *loros*. These garments became in the Middle Byzantine period the standard attire of archangels appearing in representative scenes as attendants of a central figure or object. In the apse mosaics of Cefalù and Monreale dating from 1148 and the 1180s respectively, the two Archangels Michael and Gabriel are shown in this garb as attendants of the Virgin Orans (fig. 116) or the Virgin enthroned with the Christ Child.[222]

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The first to display this kind of attire in posticonoclastic art are the four archangels in the bema of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea (fig. 117). They function here as guards of the Prepared Throne. Executed soon after 843, these mosaics (now destroyed) occupied, according to Underwood, the place of a preiconoclastic set which was removed during Iconoclasm.[223] As pointed out below, however, it seems uncertain that the garb of the original figures already included the *loros*.

The *Loros* as Imperial Garment.

As a ceremonial vestment of the Byzantine imperial court the *loros* has a longstanding evolution dating back to Roman times.[224] The border of the *toga contabulata*, folded outward, became increasingly decorated with color and ornamental design. On the triumphal *trabea* or *toga picta* of the Roman emperors this border was subsequently embellished with sumptuous embroideries and precious stones. As the *toga* itself gradually went out of fashion, its decorated edge became more and more emphasized until it eventually survived as a separate scarf-like garment. Stages of this development are observable on coins and consular diptychs of the fourth, fifth, and sixth century. During that period emperors usually present themselves in either military, civil, or consular costume. While the first two are characterized by armor and *chlamys* respectively, it is the latter that perpetuates the *trabea* for some time. Consular issues of coins from the fourth and fifth century depict some emperors, for example Valentinian I [225] or Honorius (fig. 118), seated on the throne and dressed in the *trabea*. Its most conspicuous part consists of a richly adorned scarf-like cloth wound around the body in a more complicated fashion than was formerly the case of the

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ancient *toga contabulata*. In the consular diptych of Anastasius, dated 517 (fig. 119), the scarf running from the feet up to the right shoulder differs in its ornamental design somewhat from that of the remaining *trabea*. But it is still conceived as part of the latter which swings from the right hip across the body and falls over the left arm.

As the consular office gradually lost its importance -- it was ultimately disposed of in the early seventh century -- representations of Byzantine emperors dressed in consular robes became infrequent. Only one consular coin is known of Justinian I, whose respective garment incidentally has, for the first time, been called a *loros*.[226] Very few exceptions are found on coins,[227] and the costume essentially vanished afterwards until the reign of Justinian II. It is this emperor who reintroduced the *loros* as an imperial vestment, now in the form of a separate scarf overlying the *divitision*, a long-sleeved garment reaching to the ankles. This new combination, first seen on Justinian's coins from his first period of reign (692-695),[228] appears frequently on Byzantine coinage throughout the iconoclastic period. Some of the earliest representations of it in the Middle Byzantine centuries are found in the Chludov Psalter from the ninth century. One miniature shows the King Hezekiah raised on the shield (2 Kings, chaps. 18-20),[229] while another depicts King David as Orant witnessing the Ascension of Christ.[230] Both rulers wear the *loros* and *divitision*, that is contemporary Byzantine imperial garb. Finally, a very clear picture of that attire is offered by a somewhat later ivory from approximately 944, showing the crowning of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (fig. 120).

The manner in which the *loros*, stiffened by embroideries and weighted with jewelry, had to be wrapped around the figure and held in

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place may not have made it a very comfortable garment. A simpler variant, in detail described by Grierson and called by him the "modified *loros*",[231] came into use during the ninth century.[232] This new type is displayed in an ivory representing the crowning of Romanos and Eudoxia[233] as well as in the eleventh and twelfth century mosaics of the imperial portraits in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople.[234]

The *Loros* as Dress of Archangels.

Returning now to the archangels the question of when the *loros* was adopted as their garment is directly related to the evolution of imperial iconography. Initially wearing *chiton* and *himation*, archangels in specifically Byzantine iconography gradually are transformed into state officials who, dressed in imperial costume, are visibly incorporated into the system of state hierarchy. This development can be demonstrated with a few examples. Early representative scenes of Christ or the Virgin enthroned display angels and archangels symmetrically placed behind or at both sides of the central figure. They function as celestial court officials, acting either as body and throne guards, or as masters of ceremonies when carrying long staffs.[235] In the mosaics of the triumphal arch in Santa Maria Maggiore, dating from 432-440, they participate in such a function in scenes of historic character like the Presentation in the Temple, or the Adoration of the Magi.[236] In the mosaics of S Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna of the early sixth century there is a representative scene with rigid symmetry in which the two pairs of angels stand beside the throne of the Virgin and Child.[237]

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In both of these cases the attending angel guard is still clad in the traditional garment known from the iconography of Nike. During the sixth century a profound change takes place in the outer appearance of archangels in representative scenes. The two piers of the triumphal arch in the basilica of S Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna display on their sides the standing figures of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel.[238] Each wears a purple *chlamys* decorated with a sumptuously embroidered *tablion*. This garment is identical in color and shape with that worn by the Emperor Justinian I in the nearly contemporary mosaic panel in the church of San Vitale.[239] The previously plain tunic of the angels is replaced by the *divitision* embellished with gold-threaded cuffs and a *segmentum* on the shoulder similar to the one visible on Justinian's tunic.[240]

These two images in S Apollinare in Classe mark an important turning point. The attire presents the two archangels as state officials of the highest rank, in fact equal to the emperor himself. Henceforth, changes in garment and attributes of the angels will reflect the changes in the Byzantine imperial image. It should therefore not surprise us that a preiconoclastic motif of an archangel wearing a *loros* is virtually nonexistent. As the brief review of the evolution of the *loros* has shown, its obsolescence as imperial costume for almost a century after the consular costume was abolished could hardly have caused it to be an appropriate dress for an archangel. Extant representations of attending archangels dating from the century preceding Iconoclasm, not too large in number, invariably show them dressed in either *himation, chlamys*, or *paludamentum* (short *chlamys* without *tablia*). We are not able to determine whether the period of around thirty years between the

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reappearance of the *loros* under Justinian II and the onset of Iconoclasm was sufficient to induce innovations in the angels' garments. Nor do we know what effect the twenty-eight-year long iconodule interlude between 787 and 815 may have had. At any rate, angels robed with a *loros* do seem to enter posticonoclastic art somewhat hesitantly. With the exception of the Nicaean archangels I have found but one work that has been attributed to the ninth century (fig. 121).[241] Even in such a representative work as the bema mosaic in Hagia Sophia of around 867 the archangel is shown with a *chlamys*,[242] despite the fact that the *loros* had been established as an imperial garment long since. Because of these circumstances I am inclined to think that the dress of the original archangels in Nicaea more likely consisted of a *chlamys* rather than a *loros*.

It is during the tenth and eleventh century, then, that the *loros* becomes a regular garment of archangels both in its original and modified form. The latter is worn for example by Michael and Gabriel occupying the bema arch in Hosios Lukas.[243] The *loros* of the two angels in Žiča (figs. 111-113) exhibits, as far as the poor condition of the paintings allows to see, a curious variety that is difficult to find elsewhere. Instead of emerging from under the right arm and stretching across the chest to the left shoulder in a smooth continual line as observable in the archangels at Kiev, Lagoudera, or Cefalù (figs. 114-116), the respective part here seems to be attached to the center strip. Alternatively, both shoulder parts are one single piece forming a sharp crease in the front. At any rate, either design strikingly resembles a stole such as worn by a bishop, for instance in Nerezi (fig. 122). Whether such a diversion from the traditional arrangement aimed to advance any

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particular liturgical aspects -- conceivable in view of the Archbishop Sava being the commissioner -- can only be guessed.

The continued use of the *chlamys* in the representation of angel guards or attendants in Middle Byzantine times led to the widespread formula of displaying several fashions alternately, as best seen in the dome mosaic of the Cappella Palatina in Sicily, dated around 1143 (fig. 123). The four archangels among the total of nine angels surrounding the medallion of the Pantokrator are distinguished by their imperial costumes, in contrast to the remaining angels who are uniformly clad in *chiton* and *himation*. Opening the row from the left is Raphael who wears a *chlamys* over a short tunic. Michael, standing to the right, is dressed in the original *loros* over a *divitision* which in turn is worn over a long *chiton* visible at his ankles. The next figure, Gabriel, repeats the garb of Raphael, and Uriel (the last in the row) displays the combination of *divitision* and modified *loros*.

It should be noted that such an alternation of garments, occurring throughout the Byzantine sphere in the course of at least 150 years, is practiced specifically in the depiction of angel hosts. Whenever two archangels -- usually Michael and Gabriel -- flank symmetrically a central figure, their dresses and attributes are essentially identical, as at Cefalù (fig. 116) and Žiča.

b) Attributes

Orb and staff have been common attributes of archangels since Early Byzantine times. The association of these objects with angels, as well as their diverse forms, evolved in analogy with the garments, under the influence of imperial iconography. As a symbol of power and

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authority the globe was previously an essential ingredient of the iconography of Victory. In the early fifth century it was introduced into Christian art by the Emperor Theodosius II. Some of his coins show a seated personification of Constantinople holding a globe surmounted by a cross.[244] On coins of Justin I in the sixth century this *globus cruciger* appears for the first time in the hand of an angel who, incidentally, holds in the other hand a cross staff (fig. 124). The latter came into existence in the fifth century through the Emperor Leo I, who changed the traditional type of the scepter by replacing the surmounting eagle by a cross.[245] Combinations of staff, scepter, or *labarum* with the globe, henceforth symbolizing the "universal rulership of God through his supreme commanders",[246] became standard components in the depiction of archangels in representative scenes.

Varieties of the globe exist since the sixth century.[247] The cross is either placed on top of the orb as in the so-called Archangel ivory in the British Museum,[248] or it is inscribed as in the mosaic of the triumphal arch in Saint Catherine's on Mount Sinai.[249] This design subsequently became the most frequent type in the Middle Byzantine period, represented for example in Kiev (fig. 114), Cefalù (fig. 116), or Lagoudera (fig. 115). Finally, the cross may be absent altogether while the orb, representing the universe, displays merely atmospheric lines as seen in the bema mosaic of the Hagia Sophia at Constantinople.[250] The type of orb represented in the paintings at Žiča cannot be determined anymore. Neither can the design of the staffs of the archangels correctly be identified. The arrangement of pearls near the top edge, faintly visible in one case (fig. 111), appears to resemble a cross, but other forms of pearl-studded scepters and staffs are very common.[251]

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The passing of the staffs of both angels behind instead of before the haloes is by no means an unusual design.[252] Found for example in the Menologion of Basil II around 985,[253] it becomes as frequent as the other version in the course of the twelfth century. We see it in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi in Daphni around 1100,[254] and both designs exist side by side in the scene of Lot and the Two Angels in Monreale of the 1180's (fig. 125). Examples still closer in time to Žiča are the archangels of the Annunciation scenes in Kurbinovo (1191),[255] in the well-known icon on Mount Sinai dated likewise to the end of the century;[256] and finally, the angel in the scene of the Women at the Tomb in Mileševa from approximately 1228.[257]

Arbitrary and without particular meaning as it may appear, this detail of the staff placed before or behind the nimbus shows curious variants that seem to betray some indeterminate thinking on the part of the artist. In the seventh or eighth-century icon *La Madonna della Clemenza* in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere at Rome, the staff of the angel standing to the right of the Virgin passes over the shoulder in front of the halo and obviously must pierce it somewhere behind the angel's head, since it emerges from behind the halo.[258] Precisely the same design is used in the Annunciation icon from Sinai mentioned above (see n. 262), whereas the staffs of some angels in the dome mosaic of the Cappella Palatina from 1143 remain in front of the halo after emerging from behind the head (see fig. 123). Perhaps, in order to avoid such ambiguities concerning substance and quality of the nimbus, a large number of representations shows staff, scepter or *labarum* accurately touching the circumference of the nimbus in the form of a tangent as seen, for instance, in the sixth-century apse mosaic of the

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church of San Vitale in Ravenna,[259] or in Cefalù from the twelfth century (see fig. 116).

E. Fragments of Other Scenes

In addition to the paintings described there exist some fragments of original scenes that, so far, remained unmentioned because of their exceedingly poor state of preservation. These fragments apparently belong to two scenes that occupied the upper tier of the south transept (see fig. 5). The space above the two apostles on the south wall was likely to contain the scene of the Descent of Christ into Hell. Even though the entire upper part containing figural representations is now lost (see fig. 7), the severely abraded layer near the lower margin still permits us to identify some specific details such as tombs, light colored earth borders surrounding the dark entrance to hell, and the shattered locks of the gates of hell scattered over the area of the entrance.

A fragment of a scene that presumably spread over the eastern half of the vault is located above the left part of the Crucifixion (fig. 126). All it contains is the lower portions of two figures. The one near the left margin, dressed in a light brown garment, seems to kneel on the right knee and is turned to the right toward the center of the panel. The right foot is visible behind the figure while the left foot is slightly recognizable in front of the right knee. The other figure to the right has been damaged to an extent that its position or action is almost undefinable. A few observations may still be made. The outline of the

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dark purple garment on the left side deviates from the vertical so markedly that it can only indicate a body prominently leaning in one direction. The feet in this position must necessarily be set wide apart. This is evident at least for the right foot the toes of which are visible just above the lower margin, to the left of the long vertical lacuna in the painting. The position of the left foot is unknown, since it must have been located in the destroyed area to the right. That the legs are widespread is further indicated by the long, nearly horizontal folds of the drapery. Faint traces of folds in the light area near the right foot probably betray a light colored tunic extending from below a purple mantle. The uneven height of the dark blue-green background might indicate a hilly terrain.

So far, the existence of this fragment has been mentioned only by Mijović, who believes it to be part of a scene of the Apparition of Christ to Mary Magdalene.[260] In his drawing (fig. 127), which he does not discuss in detail, he seems to interpret the figures as two women of whom the one to the right appears to thrust her body into the same direction in which the kneeling figure is positioned.

The theme of the *Apparition of the resurrected Christ to the Women* (Matthew: 28, 1-10; Mark: 16, 9; John: 20, 11-18) has found its expression in a number of iconographic types and their combinations.[261] Although their detailed discussion is needless here in view of the condition of the painting, Millet's division into two basic types perhaps might help define at least in part the composition of the scene. Millet distinguishes an asymmetric or narrative composition, and a symmetric or monumental one.[262] In the first, a group of two or three standing or kneeling women is meeting Christ who stands either

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frontally or turns toward the group. The narrative quality of this type becomes evident in cases where the scene is combined with other postresurrection episodes such as the *Women at the Tomb*, for example in the Rabbula Gospels from 586.[263] The symmetric or monumental type shows the frontally standing Christ flanked by two kneeling women. This design is predominantly found in Byzantine tradition where it becomes the standard motif in the centuries after Iconoclasm,[264] whereas the West generally prefers the asymmetric type.

Another difference between the two spheres relates to the depiction of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene alone, the so-called *Noli me tangere* motif. Very common in Western art,[265] this episode remains an exception in Byzantine painting. However, a more frequent variant here shows the scenes of *Noli me tangere* and the more general Apparition to the Women in a composition that is only to a certain degree symmetrical: Christ still stands amidst two kneeling women, but his attention is clearly drawn to the one that usually is placed at his right side. The agitated state of this woman is often expressed by her hands stretched out or her entire body leaning forward in the desire to touch Christ, thus identifying her as the Magdalene. Christ's simultaneous actions of turning to and withdrawing from her result in a characteristic slant of his figure, indicated for instance in a mosaic at Monreale.[266] Appearing here in a restrained form, the slant is notably enhanced in a Western representation, namely in an eleventh-century Exultet roll from Monte Cassino.[267]

A study of the fragment at Žiča in the light of the foregoing remarks unfortunately does not offer a clear answer regarding the basic layout of the scene. The main difficulty lies in the identification of the

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figure to the right. At first glance it might well represent Christ. He wears his traditionally purple himation. His pose indicates, just as demonstrated in the above examples, a movement of the body to the right, away from the kneeling woman who then ought to be the Magdalene. In the lost part to the right one would expect to find the other woman according to the established Byzantine symmetric type, displaying a variant similar to Monreale. However, a look at the schematic drawing (fig. 127) makes this version unlikely because of an apparent imbalance of the scene reconstructed this way in the available space. An additional episode in that space would, on the other hand, certainly crowd it, unless one accepts the possibility that the Apparition scene consisted of only two figures, that is Christ and Mary Magdalene. The rare occurrence of this particular version in Middle Byzantine art admittedly lets such an interpretation of the fragment appear rather doubtful,[268] but it can not be ruled out completely in view of the fact that we do find it in two early fourteenth-century Serbian cycles, that of Staro Nagoričino[269] and Gračanica.[270]

Finally, it is conceivable that the scene followed an asymmetric design, Christ standing somewhere in the right half of the scene, the two women occupying the space on the left side and turning toward him as indicated in Mijović's drawing. Besides fitting well into the available vault space this particular asymmetric type, with one woman kneeling and the other standing, also occurs in later Serbian painting.[271] It is indeed regrettable that the condition of this scene precludes any positive statement. An asymmetric composition would be much in line with other, for their period quite un-Byzantine qualities, in the iconography of Žiča as already suggested in the discussion of the Passion scenes.

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F. The Program ofDecoration

The description of the extant original wall paintings demonstrates to what extent the decoration of the church has been destroyed, and how meager therefore are the grounds are for a reconstruction of the original program. On the other hand, the paintings of the fourteenth century,[272] of which a substantially larger part has survived, might somewhat widen that basis. There is general accord among researchers that, apparently in pursuit of faithfully preserving the interior of St Sava's building, the artists who initiated the restoration campaigns[273] strove not only to reproduce the arrangement and size of the original scenes but also aimed at imitating their monumental style, already outdated at that time.[274] These intentions are perhaps best demonstrated in the representation of the Church Fathers in the apse, the huge figures measuring over three meters in height (fig. 128). The pseudo- or fresco icons below, their frames and fastening hooks painted, doubtless also reproduce the earlier program if for no other reason than having been a rather archaic motif already in Sava's times.

Inasmuch as this decoration has in turn suffered considerable losses, an assessment of the initial program must remain fragmentary and conjectural after all. Disputed, for example, are certain scenes in the spaces below the dome where damages are particularly extensive. Fragments of a painting on the north wall of the central crossing, now completely vanished, still could be seen earlier in this century and formed, according to Petković,[275] part of a scene of *Noli me tangere.*

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While some later surveys repeat this suggestion,[276] Djurić believes the fragments of the two female figures mentioned by Petković belonged to a scene of the Raising of Lazarus.[277] Its inclusion in the program of the dome space would, in his opinion, still more closely resemble that of the church of the Holy Apostles in the monastery of Peć. This notion of a link between Žiča and Peć derives from the assumption that Archbishop Sava was involved in the reconstruction and decoration of the church in Peć that, incidentally, succeeded Žiča as ecclesiastical center after the demolition of the latter.[278] Arguing in favor of such a link between the two monuments for various reasons, Đurić maintains that the program in the central apse of Peć including its Ascension scene in the dome was inspired by the original arrangement in Žiča.[279] Here, no trace of any paintings in the cupola itself remains. But some patches between the windows in the drum show eight figure pairs extant up to their knees only.[280] Petković attributed these figures to prophets surrounding a lost image of the Pantokrator,[281] as does Tasić.[282] Mijović in addition recognizes angels among the prophets but, even while retaining the image of Christ as a "large bust of the Pantokrator", curiously calls the scene the Ascension of Christ.[283] Djurić, finally, eliminates the prophets and replaces them by apostles on the basis of the "excited positions " of their feet. The Virgin he identifies in the "calm figure standing between two angels".[284]

Reflecting upon these suggestions one should realize that for Petković it was quite reasonable to assume a Pantokrator as the image that crowned the dome space because, by the thirteenth century, it had become the predominant motif for that place in Byzantine churches.[285] And Klaus Wessel writes that after the ninth century he does not know

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of any Ascension scene as motif in a main dome other than those in the church of the Apostles in Peć and some early Cappadocian cycles.[286] Nevertheless, in the twelfth and even in the thirteenth century the scene does reappear as a dome motif, for example in St Mark's at Venice around 1200,[287] or in some Russian monuments such as Mirozh (1157-58),[288] Staraia Ladoga (c.1167-80),[289] and Neredica (1199).[290] Otto Demus calls this entire group "outposts and provincial backwaters of the empire".[291] However, these terms are bound to have rather fluctuant criteria, since they embrace works of greatly varying artistic level and degree of stylistic uptodateness. Such Serbian monuments as Žiča and Peć should then, by the same token, be called equally remote or provincial in view of their iconographic archaisms. Besides these two, a third major monument, Mileševa, dedicated just as Žiča to the feast of the Ascension of Christ, in all likelihood also displayed this scene in its main dome.[292]

Among the wall paintings of the fourteenth-century decoration at Žiča which, judging by their monumental quality, can be considered reproductions of preceding frescoes, one may also mention the large scene of the Koimesis covering the west wall of the former narthex,[293] and the huge figures of standing saints in the lowest register of the naos. Beyond that, it probably will remain an arbitrary matter to connect this or that extant scene with the original program, or to assign to a lost scene a particular location in the vast *lacunae* of the wall spaces.[294]

Turning now to the extant original work, the program in the two transept wings may have centered on the theme of Christ's Passion and Resurrection. These cycles occur frequently in transverse spaces of mid-Byzantine churches, for example in Hosios Lukas and Daphni.[295] The

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narthex of Hosios Lukas in particular exhibits a scheme likely to have been followed in Žiča by its combination of Christological scenes and standing figures of the Apostles. On the other hand, it remains uncertain whether the transept in Žiča was dedicated to the two themes exclusively, and if so, there is no way to know whether the upper tier contained only the post-resurrection episodes. The two Passion scenes and both the extant and perished figures of the apostles fill the lower tier and comprise approximately one half of the total space in the transept. Judging by the location of extant panel edges in the south wing, the paintings that covered vaults and wall spaces above the windows possibly consisted of six panels altogether, three in each transept arm distributed over the east and west half of the vault and the area above the windows. Besides the Descent into Hell and the Apparition to the Women there thus would remain four scenes of unknown content. These may have depicted either further post-resurrection events, or other Passion scenes, or themes not directly related to the two cycles. The difficulty in deciding is exacerbated by the fact that other scenes belonging to these cycles are scattered over various places in the naos. The Entry into Jerusalem, for example, is found on the north wall, the Last Supper on the west arch below the dome, the Doubting Thomas on the north wall of the central crossing. All dating from the fourteenth century, these paintings may or may not repeat original episodes, thus rendering futile attempts to assess the initial program in the transepts.

Aside from these rather meager findings, there is the conspicuous treatment of two episodes in the transept in which the cross plays visually a central role. It has been suggested[296] that such an emphasis

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on the theme of Christ's Passion, observable both in Žiča and in Studenica, might be connected with the existence of a relic of the True Cross that Stephen the First-Crowned had received from his father, Stephen Nemanja, during the stay of the latter on Mount Athos.[297] In the donation charter given to Žiča (see p. 28) Stephen mentions first among his gifts a fragment of the Holy Cross.[298] Doubtless revered by both brothers already for the sake of their saintly father, the relic may indeed have affected their decisions regarding the prominent positions of the scenes displaying the cross.

While this stress upon representations of the Passion remained limited to Žiča and Studenica, the arrangement of the Apostles in transverse spaces as seen in Žiča was subsequently adopted by some other Serbian monuments of the thirteenth century, for instance in Mileševa and Sopoćani.[299] It is possible that the scheme of combining Passion episodes with standing Apostles was also applied in the transept at Mileševa.[300]

The arrangement of the two Archangels in the lunettes above the doors to the chapels has lost its original meaning after the destruction of the image of the Virgin that was located in the lunette above the central door connecting the old narthex with the exonarthex.[301] Although the painting was poorly preserved, as a photograph from the early years of this century shows (fig. 129), one can still recognize the conventional type of a Virgin Orans commonly found in lunettes crowning interior and exterior doors. Some examples of this are a twelfth-century mosaic above the door in the west wall at Torcello,[302] an exterior painting over the north door at Lagoudera from 1192,[303] or the perished mosaic from around 1065 in the narthex of the Dormition church at Nicaea (fig. 130).

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Even though the two Archangels in Žiča are spatially separated by lunettes from one another as well as from the Virgin, they certainly are to be understood as attending guards of the centrally placed Virgin, thus representing a theme of longstanding tradition as was discussed earlier (see pp.98-104). All three figures, distributed over three walls, nonetheless unite into one ensemble "across the physical space", to use the idea once expressed by Otto Demus.[304] I believe the same principle accounts for the attitudes of the two Apostles nearest the Passion scenes in the transept arms (see p. 94).

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V. THE EVOLUTION OF STYLE IN BYZANTINE MONUMENTAL PAINTING OF THE LATER TWELFTH CENTURY

The execution of the wall paintings in Žiča took place around 1220 (see p. 27). Stylistically they represent an earlier stage of the monumental style of the thirteenth century which by that time had become the dominant trend. It emerged gradually from diverse directions characterizing late Comnenian painting during the second half of the twelfth century. The proximity of Žiča to that era calls for a review of Comnenian art as it passed through its final stage under the dynasties of the last Comneni and the Angeli.

A. Overview of Preceding Trends

After the strongly classicizing style of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance during the tenth century, Middle Byzantine painting took a course of steadily growing spirituality, which consequently aimed at suppressing the physical reality of the human body.[305] This manifested itself 1) in an increasing insistence on linear modes of representation: at the expense of coloristic gradation, line became the principal vehicle in the modeling of the human figure and its garments. 2) in a deliberate distortion of bodily proportions by attenuation of the figure, which, however, did not radically affect the rational scheme of the human anatomy. And 3) in a graphic design of draperies that consisted of

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schematically arranged folds of abstract geometrical shapes and tended to conceal the organic structure of the body. All these effects contributed to an overall flattening of the figure, and to a reduction of its weight and volume.

It seems appropriate here to recall the basic phenomenon of periodic renascences of classical concepts in Byzantine art, briefly noted in the introduction.[306] The oscillation between classicizing and abstract styles throughout the history of Byzantine painting reflected shifts in the relationship between "the two antithetic elements always present in Byzantine art, the 'classical' and the 'abstract'."[307] This created transitional forms that led to a coexistence of styles and even to their juxtaposition in one and the same work.

Conforming to that oscillating quality of Byzantine art, there evolved side by side with the dematerializing trend a renewed interest in classical standards in the later part of the eleventh century as demonstrated by the paintings of Daphni. This new classical wave, however, apparently did not have a lasting impact upon the evolution of abstract trends.[308] The profound preference for the latter expressed itself in the form of an increasingly schematic and linear rendering of garments and faces in the course of the twelfth century. This is well demonstrated by the imperial portraits in the south gallery of Saint Sophia at Constantinople, depicting the Emperor John II Comnenos, his wife Irene and his son Alexios, dating from the years 1118 - 22. After the solid, organic, corporeal figures of Daphni barely a quarter of a century earlier, these representations come almost as a shock. Admittedly the heavy imperial dresses, completely covered with ornamental patterns, do not lend themselves well to comparisons with free-flowing garments.

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Yet it is the faces of these figures, modeled with thin arbitrary lines and devoid of relief, that prefigure subsequent developments toward the abstract. Kitzinger's description of the face of the Empress Irene (fig. 131) is indeed to the point:

> "Every feature - eyes, nose, mouth, hands - is so fully and clearly defined by neat and emphatic lines and all shading is so smooth and regular that, instead of solid flesh, we seem to behold a brittle, sharp-edged mask of fine porcelain".[309]

Comparing some mid-century Sicilian monuments with Daphni, Otto Demus makes this observation:

> "...the forms have become more complicated and, at the same time, stiffer... Folds are not seen and rendered as plastic motifs, rising, stretching, hanging and falling, in short, conforming to the logic of the drapery; rather, they appear as incised linear designs obeying the laws of semi-abstract graphic patterns."[310]

Finally, beginning with the twelfth century, Comnenian painting gradually began to acquire some new expressive features. Human figures occasionally showed a greater psychological involvement, either by means of "animated expressions of the faces", or through "dynamic, twisted postures" and agitated garments with flying ends.[311] These tendencies, indicating a growing interest in the representation of human emotions, foreshadowed major stylistic changes.

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B. Late Comnenian Painting

The dearth of firmly dated metropolitan works for nearly two centuries has greatly challenged the study of Byzantine monumental painting of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Progress in clarifying the evolution of style during that extended period has relied almost entirely on studies of monuments scattered over the cultural provinces of the Byzantine empire. For the period under consideration, that is the time span between the sixties of the twelfth century and 1220, one monument only is known to us with undisputedly imperial patronage - the wall paintings of the church of St. Panteleimon near the village of Nerezi in Macedonia, dated 1164.[312] Their discovery in 1926 enabled scholars to identify a distinct phase in the stylistic evolution of Comnenian painting, the "late Comnenian style," which embraces the period between Nerezi and approximately the year 1200.

1. The Style of Nerezi

A major guidepost for the Comnenian style of the twelfth century, the Nerezi cycle epitomizes the longstanding trend of abstraction and spiritualization. The tall and very slender figures are markedly elongated, especially from the waist downward.[313] The rendering of faces and garments reveals notable variations. Facial highlights sometimes form a linear, almost ornamental network as in the face of St. Gregory the Wonderworker (?) in the presbytery (see fig. 122). This strong linearism contrasts with some painterly treatments of other faces, for example that of St. Tryphon in the north chapel of the narthex (fig. 132). All means of expression in Nerezi serve one purpose, namely the

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exposure of the spiritual essence of the image.[314] Single figures and portraits exhibit intense emotions and human empathy. Besides exaggerated postures and actions, expressive effects are also achieved through mannered treatments of facial elements (mouth, chin, eyebrows).

The draperies continue to display the increasingly schematized design of the fold system occurring in Comnenian painting during the first half of the century: long outlines stretched straight or smoothly curved and sets of nearly parallel folds, which in moving figures often contrast with agitated and vermiculated folds in the lower part of the tunic.

In various figures the extensive use of almost pure white on lighted parts of the draperies often lets their basic color appear as shaded areas in a very light colored textile, for example the purple himation of St. John from the Deposition scene (see fig. 69).[315]

A peculiar quality found in some moving figures is the accentuated modeling of the legs, for instance in the Prophetess Anna from the scene of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (fig. 133), or in the extreme right apostle on the south side of the Eucharist scene in the presbytery (fig. 134). The free legs of these two figures - or in the case of the Prophetess both legs - stand out in high relief through their prominent modeling while barely disturbing the pattern of agitated folds in the tunic, especially the leg of the apostle (fig. 135). Such occasional bold plasticity of single parts of the body brings to the mind another notion of Demus:

> "The decisive qualities of this style [that is, the so-called dynamic phase of late Comnenian painting, PJ] are the

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> consistent separation of plastically modeled 'islands' . . . accompanied by a nascent feeling first for the relief, later on for the plastic wholeness of the limbs, and finally for the entire figure." [316]

This statement obviously confirms the rather early stage of the Nerezi paintings in the stylistic development of late Comnenian painting.

Variations in the rendering of stylistic details reflect a collaboration of several artists. Elegance of postures and refinement of features clearly distinguish the hand of the principal master. The image of the titular saint on the south-east pier (fig.136), undoubtedly his creation, has rightfully been called by Kitzinger "a direct descendent of the heads of the mosaic panel of John II [Empress Irene, fig. 131 (PJ)], with the pattern of lines refined almost to the point of preciousness."[317] In addition to some other portraits such as the Virgin in the prothesis (fig. 137) or the mentioned St. Tryphon (fig. 132), his work comprises the majority of the scenic representations in the naos. Among these it is particularly the scenes of the Transfiguration (fig. 138), the Deposition (fig. 69) and the Lamentation (fig. 54) that caused scholars to single out the master of Nerezi as having introduced fundamental innovations that most likely represented current Constantinopolitan directions.[318] Unlike earlier narrative scenes which show no deliberate interdependence of the pictorial components with regard to their shape or arrangement, the mentioned scenes in Nerezi reveal an entirely new compositional scheme: all parts of the scene are subordinated to one dynamic design and connected with one another by invisible sweeping lines, as well demonstrated in detail by Hamann-MacLean.[319] In his analysis of late Comnenian stylistic qualities Ernst Kitzinger describes

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one of the scenes containing landscape elements (the Lamentation, fig. 54):

> ". . . at Nerezi already are those boldly curving hills echoing and underlining the movements of the figures, intensifying their expressiveness and adding to the dynamic unity generated by the figures themselves as each takes up or responds to the action of its neighbor."[320]

In such a design, which he characterizes as ". . the cumulative and interlocking dynamism of the figures and the use of the background to reinforce this effect of a single shock wave engulfing the whole composition," Kitzinger sees the beginnings of a "new development of the 1160's."[321] Terming this development the "dynamic style" he refers to Otto Demus, who in earlier research already speaks of a new "dynamic style of unified composition."[322] While the first traces of this new style appear, according to Demus, in miniature painting of the earlier twelfth century, he regards Nerezi as the earliest preseved example displaying the "dynamic" style in monumental painting. He describes the dynamic quality of the Nerezi style in the example of the Deposition scene (fig. 69) as follows:

> ". . . all five figures are combined in an arched composition topped by the horizontal bar of the Cross. None of the figures could stand by itself as an isolated statue, and none could be taken away without the entire composition being destroyed. The primary unit with which the painter counted was not the single figure but the compositional group arranged in a *dynamic pattern, with all the figures firmly interlocked."*[323]

Variations in the style of Nerezi as caused by different hands are most evident in the paintings of the presbytery. How much they

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departed from the classicizing tradition of Daphni may here be demonstrated by a comparison of an apostle from two scenes of the Eucharist, the first from the cathedral of St. Michael in Kiev from about 1108 (fig. 139), the second from the presbytery in Nerezi (fig. 134). The iconography of the two figures is almost identical as regards location in the scene, position, action, and youthful appearance. The elongated bodies and the relatively small heads are further common qualities. Aside from these similarities, however, the two figures reflect strikingly different concepts. In the apostle from Kiev the major curvilinear folds of the drapery, although not always convincingly arranged, form smooth lines without notable disturbances. The simple design of the softly curving contours renders the figure calm and relaxed in a classical sense. The predominantly straight vertical folds in the lower part of the tunic indicate a slow and quiet pace.

In contrast, the movement of the apostle in Nerezi towards the center of the scene could almost be called a vehement rush, as if he were anxious not to be left out of the event. The large step, the jagged, zigzagging contours of the drapery, and the complicated swirling network of folds in the lower part of the tunic clearly express the excitement radiating from the figure of this apostle. Unlike the space crowded by overlapping figures in the Kiev mosaic, the ample spaces separating the Nerezi apostle and the figures briskly marching in single file ahead of him (only the feet and the agitated folds of the tunics are original) further stress the impression of urgent movement.

Viewed in its entirety, the Nerezi cycle thus incorporates these specific qualities of the dynamic style: 1) notable elongation of the

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figures, 2) intense facial expressions and gestures, 3) agitated, fluttering drapery with complicated patterns of folds, 4) modeling of volumes with line, resulting in harsh contrasts between light and shade, and 5) inclusion of the landscape in the emotional state of the figures.

2. Stylistic Development after Nerezi

Monuments dating from the later decades of the twelfth century attest to a wide dissemination of the dynamic or agitated style throughout the cultural provinces of Byzantium. Kitzinger makes the following observations of the fully developed style on the mosaics of the Cathedral of Monreale in Sicily:

> "A lively and unified design is . . .the artist's main concern, outweighing his interest in the organic structure and articulation of the body and in psychological and dramatic content. . . Fold motifs are repeated as though they were units in an ornamental pattern. . . Rather than permitting the eye to come to rest on solid, coherent surfaces, such as the monumental scale of these figures" [i.e. prophets and apostles in the sanctuary, for example the Apostle Simon, fig. 140. PJ] "would naturally seem to call for, the artist breaks up each garment into a multitude of cascading, zigzagging and spiralling motifs which obscure both the actual design of the costume and the structure of the body wearing it . . . The unity of the Monreale figure is ornamental rather than organic. Life is not generated by the body itself, but imposed from outside. The artist does not think in terms of either physical or psychical motivation, but of surface effects."[324]

Much as the Monreale cycle, dating from the 1180's, exhibits essential qualities of the mature dynamic style, its figures show in many instances more substance and volume when compared with the figures in Nerezi. The excess slenderness, one could almost say frailty, of the

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latter became a consistent trait in the Macedonian region, which of all provincial centers displays the most extreme versions of the agitated style, perhaps reflecting herein a peculiar susceptibility to this stylistic form.[325]

A famous example for such extreme Macedonian type versions are the wall paintings of the church of St. George, located near the village of Kurbinovo in a remote region of western Macedonia, and dated 1191 by inscription. The figure style clearly points to Nerezi as the source for this decoration. The linear modeling technique of body parts is essentially identical, as is the treatment of the draperies with almost pure white areas, their color appearing only in shaded parts of the folds. For the sake of a further heightening of expressiveness however, the Kurbinovo artists exaggerate body proportions, postures, actions and facial features of so that their rendering becomes distinctly mannered.

As regards the agitation of the garments the paintings of Kurbinovo undoubtedly surpass all known monuments of the period. The violently agitated folds and appendages of the draperies of the Archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation (fig. 141) perhaps reflect a traditional perception of the rapid movement innate to this figure. But it is a prominent characteristic of the entire cycle that any figure involved in momentary action conveys a sense of urgency and excitement - for example the resurrected Christ in the scene of the Descent into Hell (fig. 142) - and therefore invariably becomes overloaded with swirling and vermiculating draperies. Even the garment of Joseph of Arimathaea in the Deposition (fig. 143) evokes the feeling that the event occurred during a hurricane. Incidentally, Demus' notion of the growing feeling for the "plastic wholeness of the limbs, and finally for the entire figure"

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in late Comnenian painting (see p. 123) proves to be well-founded in view of this figure of Joseph with its conspicuous modeling in the round of the buttocks and the entire right leg.

In the Ascension of Christ, a scene that traditionally lends itself to a representation of exalted emotions, the exaggerated poses and gestures of the disciples take on almost grotesque proportions, especially those of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and even more so the oddly twisted bodies of the two angels carrying the mandorla of Christ (fig. 144). The entire scene is immersed in a turmoil of wildly fluttering draperies, culminating in the vibrating mass of textile engulfing the three celestial figures.

A comparison of this Ascension scene with, for example, that in Monreale (fig. 145) demonstrates the "extremism" of the Macedonian artists. The agitation of the draperies in the Sicilian scene, although undeniably present, is reduced to a moderate complexity of folds, even on those of Christ and the angels in flight. The Apostles Peter and Andrew heading the two groups of disciples show a far greater restraint in their gestures and postures. Only the two corner figures exhibit some conventional agitation with their raised hands . Dynamic as it most certainly is when compared with earlier works, the scene in Monreale appears almost classic in the face of the ecstatic mood pervading the scene in Kurbinovo, and for that matter most of the other scenes there as well.

The art of one of the masters at Kurbinovo doubtless bears the stamp of provincialism, judging by the quality of certain faces as for example those of the apostles from the Dormition scene (fig. 146). They are rendered with bright, spotty, schematized highlights applied over a

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dark olive-green base color in a harsh "black-and-white" technique without much gradation, a scheme occurring in weaker form already in Nerezi predominantly among the paintings in the presbytery. The bizarre expressions and the lack of any refinement lets some of these crude faces appear almost like caricatures.

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3. Notions on Scholarship

Monuments of the late Comnenian period perpetuate to a greater or lesser extent a multiplicity of stylistic varieties, as is already evident in Nerezi. Scholars dealing with the complicated evolution of late Comnenian aesthetics have developed various definitions and interpretations of the stylistic changes taking place during that time. Technically one can distinguish three "schools" which principally agree on the existence of a distinct late Comnenian style. However, they classify monuments either by means of descriptive terms, or on the basis of particular stylistic elements, or they do not pursue any explicit classification of stylistic types.

As a prominent representative of the "school" that introduced a specific terminology, Otto Demus in his fundamental work on San Marco gives an overview of the stylistic developments in Byzantine painting occurring during the later part of the twelfth century. He enumerates for this period altogether four styles:[326]

1) The "specifically dynamic" style, in its extreme form also called "stormy" style. Because of its wide dissemination throughout the Byzantine sphere it represents the mainstream of late Comnenian art, and is characterized by a "heightening of expression in movements, gestures and features", by "the appending of secondary shapes (flying ends, hanging folds) to the primary shapes of the bodies", and by "the arrangement of the linear design in concentric shapes or radial forms issuing from common centers."

2) Another variant of the late Comnenian style is the so-called "Rococo" style. Demus prefers for it the term "Byzantine art nouveau"

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style. A variant of it already appears, according to him, in Nerezi side by side with the "specifically dynamic" style in the form of "abrupt contrasts of light and shade in linear patterns" instead of graded modeling. In later Macedonian monuments it may be mingled with typical features of the "stormy" style, Kurbinovo being an example. As essential features of the "Rococo" style Demus mentions a "characteristic unification of the figure with the emphasis on its general shape and outline at the expense of internal modeling"; the draperies show "parallel repetitions of capricious . . . lines or folds", and "almost absurd convolutions of flying folds that, in certain works . . . almost smother the slim figures". Some soft folds "look as if they had been squeezed out of a tube." Movements are "smooth, elegant, and 'oily' . . . more those of a stately dance than of expressive turmoil."

Doula Mouriki, who generally adheres to the classification scheme of the styles mentioned, stresses in particular the elegant character of the Rococo or "art nouveau" style and distinguishes two concurrent late Comnenian stylistic phases: a "dynamic" phase, occurring predominantly in northern areas such as Macedonia, and an "elegant" phase, which spreads to southern Greece including the islands and more strongly reflects Constantinopolitan influences[327] (see also below, p.147).

3) The "abstract-decorative" style occurs predominantly during the last decade of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. It shows "a tendency toward abstract forms and a 'simplification of drapery surfaces'", which in connection with a complete absence of the "sophistication . . . and . . . lyrical quality of the Rococo" style renders this style a rather provincial variant.

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4) The last of the four stylistic varieties of late Comnenian painting mentioned by Demus - the "neoclassical" or "new monumental style" - will be discussed in the following chapter.

An example of the "school" that also classifies late Comnenian monuments on the basis of stylistic qualities, yet without using descriptive terms, is offered by Vojislav Djurić.[328] Postulating the existence of a specific harmony or equilibrium between volume and line in a group of monuments close in time and style to Nerezi, Djurić sees in the last two or three decades before the downfall of the Empire in 1204 a breakdown of such an equilibrium that characterized the "classical Comnenian style." This manifested itself in the "lines becoming larger and thicker," so that a "tyranny of line established itself and entailed a dramatic destruction of the form."[329]

Among the diverse directions appearing during this period Djurić recognizes as a distinctive feature the return to volume. This occurs in various ways, for example "by a removal of the system of lines in the exposed parts of the body, by a sharpening of the contrasts between light and shade, by a heavier fall of the draperies, by an abandonment of elongated figures, and by an introduction of more robust bodies." In enumerating these features that indicate a turning away from the purely abstract directions, Djurić emphasizes that "each of them has its independent life and is limited to one monument or a small group of monuments, and never are they found all together in one and the same monument."[330] Taking into account the diversity in the way these features appear and combine, he distinguishes five main tendencies and classifies the monuments accordingly.[331]

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Similar to the approach of Djurić, Lydie Hadermann-Misguich establishes as a criterion the relationship between line and volume. The level of tension between the two factors, that is the balance or imbalance between line and modeling, determines the art historical position of the monument. The outburst of that tension occurs in the period of 1180-1200, characterizing, according to the author, most thoroughly the late Comnenian artistic movement.[332] She recognizes three main groups of monuments, based on an increasing insistence on volume.[333]

It is undoubtedly Victor Lazarev who champions the "school" that does not aim at a stylistic classification of late Comnenian monuments. Notwithstanding the fact that his investigations essentially predate the bulk of research concentrating on that task, his objections to such efforts clearly define his position. Fully recognizing the trend of progressive abstraction in the Comnenian style of the twelfth century, for example, Lazarev nonetheless explicitly stresses the fact that

> "the second half of the twelfth century in principle brought nothing new as compared with what clearly took shape already in the painting of the first half of that century. . . . One sees . . . merely a quantitative growth of tendencies which distinctly showed up during the preceding decades. Quantity does not change here into quality.[1] The latter arose at a different, later epoch - the thirteenth century."[334]

In his note No.1 (relating to the sentence ending with the word "quality") he comments upon Demus as follows:

> "Professor Demus (*The Mosaics of Norman Sicily,* pp. 404-442) clearly overrates the novelties of the second half of the twelfth century. Besides, he sees the process of the development much too fractionally ('the Style of Roger's Period'; the Style of William II's Period'). In view of the fortuitous selection of medieval monuments it is hardly

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> possible to divide the material into such small segments of time, and even more so to perceive new stylistic tendencies in every decade. The process of artistic evolution certainly unfolded much more slowly, and searches for the new constantly alternated with relapses into the past, which generally characterizes the history of Byzantine art."[335]

In his analyses of monuments Lazarev adheres to the basic working scheme common to all "schools", that is, of investigating the stylistic relations between metropolitan and provincial art and striving to identify the origin of the respective artists or workshops. Constantly emphasizing the leading role of the Constantinopolitan school throughout the Byzantine sphere, Lazarev tends, with minor attention to a particular period or region, to place all twelfth-century monuments of known Constantinopolitan origin into one stylistic group distinguished from all other monuments by characteristic and unchanging artistic standards. Thus he recognizes identical Constantinopolitan stylistic traits in monuments separated by space and time such as the wall paintings of St. Demetrius in Vladimir from c.1195, the mosaics of Cefalù from 1146, and those of St. Michael in Kiev from c.1108.[336]

Out of this group of metropolitan monuments he further separates a special group of works representing the highest achievement of Costantinopolitan art of the century, among which he lists the frescoes of St. Demetrius, the icon of the Vladimir Mother of God in (second quarter of the twelfth century), and the contemporary Deesis mosaic in the gallery of St. Sophia at Constantinople.[337]

Lazarev's approach, here inevitably simplified, by no means devaluates the contribution of the previously mentioned "schools". On the other hand, by consciously refraining from a classification of

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monuments based on sometimes minor stylistic varieties, it bypasses a close dependence on insecure dates. In view of the fact that, for the period of the second half of the twelfth century, only about one fifth of the extant monuments is firmly dated, attributions of some undated monuments to certain stylistic categories time and again create difficulties.[338] To use Otto Demus' own words:

> ". . . the four styles [i.e. specifically dynamic or stormy, Rococo, abstract-decorative, and monumental. P.J.] are not mutually exclusive; there are innumerable combinations and transitions, especially in the provinces where various influences were superimposed upon one another."[339]

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VI. BEGINNINGS OF THE "MONUMENTAL", "NEOCLASSICAL", OR "VOLUME" STYLE

After a general preoccupation with abstract and agitated styles during the twelfth century, Byzantine painting reverted, as indicated in the Introduction, to a style that signified a return to simple, calm, and monumental forms. The human figure gradually became endowed with a new sense of beauty and nobility. A renewed understanding of the human body as a natural organic entity made itself felt, an entity whose weight and volume became such marked features during the thirteenth century that scholars speak sometimes of a "volume" style in Byzantine painting.[340] As best defined by Kitzinger, the "phase of excessive, mannerist agitation" characterizing late twelfth century painting was replaced, he writes, by

> "a new simplicity and calm monumentality both of form and expression . . . This new concentration on the essential structure and integrity of the human form and on the power of its simple presence is the basis of the entire subsequent development. At first the monumental effects are still achieved with linear means inherited from the twelfth century. But - and this is the essence of the stylistic evolution in the thirteenth century - increasingly this linear frame is filled with volume and weight. Monumentality, at first achieved mainly through great, sweeping lines, becomes more and more a matter of solid modeling and heavy mass and is vastly enhanced in the process."[341]

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A. Early Forms before the Fall of Constantinople

Otto Demus' quotation on page 134 could serve well as an epigraph to a discussion of the origin of this new style. Its initial stage as ingredient of the stylistic conglomerate characterizing late Comnenian painting still raises questions, mainly due to the complete lack of dated metropolitan monuments during the entire period. On the other hand, distinct qualities of the monumental style already appear in various provincial monuments at least a decade before the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. This is considered a sufficient proof of its radiation from one of the metropolitan centers of the Empire, most likely from Constantinople.[342]

Although located in a distant region of the Byzantine cultural sphere, the frescoes of the cathedral of St. Demetrius at Vladimir in Russia have traditionally been regarded as the earliest appearance of the monumental style, and as an essential guidepost for defining metropolitan art of the late twelfth century. Usually dated around 1195,[343] the original decoration of the cathedral, destroyed and overpainted at various times,[344] has been reduced to a fragmentary scene of the Last Judgement spreading over the western vaults. Despite the heavy loss of surface paint and progressive fading, the images of the apostles (fig. 147) and some angels (fig. 148) still betray an exquisiteness that points to the Constantinopolitan artistic standards of the principal master.[345] The delicate scale of the luminous colors; the varied, relaxed, anatomically correct postures of the apostles, avoiding a rigid frontality; their graceful gestures; the dignity of their remarkably individualized faces; the refined beauty of the angels - all these qualities

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bear the stamp of a classical heritage that could only have been preserved and cultivated in the Byzantine capital itself.[346]

Art historically, the work in Vladimir represents a stage where the new three-dimensional style has already largely replaced the linear expressive modes of the late Comnenian period. The portraitlike faces and the natural harmonius outlines of the main parts of the bodies signify a radical break with the preceding abstract and spiritualizing trends, and a return to a style which stresses the corporeality and organic unity of the human figure. Nonetheless, the paintings still incorporate certain linear elements. Thus, the draperies are modeled, to quote Otto Demus, "with splashes of light sending out centrifugal or parallel, comblike rays in abstract designs of great vigor."[347] He recognizes the beginnings of such "abstract shapes, light colored broken and spiky surface configurations"[348] already in earlier monuments that otherwise exhibit typical late Comnenian mannerisms and curvilinear designs, for instance in certain figures in the church of St. George at Staraia Ladoga in Russia,[349] dated about 1167 or around 1180.[350] But, on the whole, such evident links with the past in the paintings at Vladimir are overshadowed by the overall impression of a work in which, in the words of Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, "the human body has found again the rhythm, the proportions and the volume of the purest antique tradition."[351]

There exist two undated metropolitan monuments - one in Constantinople, the other in Salonica - that stylistically are in some ways relatable to Vladimir. The Constantinopolitan work is a fragmentary and poorly preserved fresco in the Archeological Museum at Istanbul that originally decorated a tomb located within the site of the

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excavated church of St. Euphemia in the vicinity of the Hippodrome.[352] The painting depicts the intercession of St. Euphemia for a deceased deacon before the enthroned Christ (figs. 149, 150).[353] The colors of the garments are described by Hans Belting as "bright and luminous, with delicate transitional hues, and of great harmony,"[354] a hallmark of Constantinopolitan art. As far as can be discerned, there are no exaggerated or distorted figural proportions and no agitated draperies. The frontal, yet convincingly seated figure of the Pantokrator has much in common with those of the apostles in Vladimir. Major and minor folds of the garment are rationally coordinated, even though tending to form patterns of straight, almost parallel folds, especially in the tunic. The modeling in the better preserved lower part conveys a distinct sense of plasticity and relief of the figure in relation to the throne. Strikingly similar to the modeling of the draperies in Vladimir is the treatment of the fold ridges, which appear as streaks and rays of bright light or *Lichtgrate*, as Belting calls them. Moreover, the nearly rectangular patch of light over Christ's right knee with the highlighted folds issuing from it in rays occurs in Vladimir as a conspicuous motif in virtually every apostle.

In the free-falling garment of St. Euphemia the fold ridges, arranged in essentially vertical parallels, are highlighted in the same manner as in the draperies of Christ. Some patches of bright light, still visible in part above the right knee, further heighten the relief.

Noteworthy is the differentiation of the two faces regarding design and expression. Although turned in three quarter view toward Christ, with her head slightly inclined, Euphemia looks with a mild, seemingly compassionate expression straight at the beholder. Her foreshortened

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face, painted with a greenish base color, is highlighted with soft patches extending over larger areas of the face and the neck. Old and new techniques meet in a peculiar way in the strictly frontal, dark reddish face of Christ. In combination with the glaring whites of the eyeballs and the black slanted eyebrows, the small but piercing, sharply averted eyes render the face highly expressive, imparting to it a sense of vigilant suspicion which characterizes many late Comnenian faces. At the same time, the few minute highlights in the form of pure white, dazzling brushstrokes, applied with great skill, create a strong sense of plasticity and relief, which is further heightened by the thin but luminous streak of light surrounding the head and setting it off from the nimbus. Essentially the same modeling technique appears in some faces of both the angels and apostles at Vladimir, for example in the Apostle Simon (see fig. 109). The function of these facial highlights differs fundamentally from that of the almost purely ornamental lines and patches typically occurring in late Comnenian features, as at Nerezi (fig. 122).

In determining a date for the Euphemia fresco Belting settles on a time around 1200 or soon after, seeing in the modeling of the draperies with prominent accents of light a major connection with the paintings in Vladimir.

The only other extant metropolitan monument - the catholikon of Hosios David in the monastery tou Latomou at Thessaloniki - offers a much better insight into the genesis of the new monumental style. Cleaned in the 1970's, the fragmentary fresco cycle now essentially consists of the scenes of the Nativity and the Baptism of Christ. In a masterly analysis of the two paintings Doula Mouriki[355] clearly

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identifies in both scenes some characteristic qualities of the dynamic and the monumental style occurring side by side as the two main stylistic components. In the Nativity scene (fig. 151) it is primarily the figure of St. Joseph (fig. 152) in which a confident metropolitan artist has fused old and new trends in a superb manner. Typically late Comnenian elements are the frail body with its emaciated arms, and the large rippling fold running along the thigh. The contour of the hill behind the figure, echoing the outline of the latter, is strongly reminiscent of dynamic designs of the landscape such as found, for example, in the Transfiguration scene in Nerezi (see fig. 138). The antique pose of Joseph however, and especially his portraitlike face, although modeled with linear schematized highlights, reveals "with its convincing pathos" unlike the "empty, masklike quality of the faces in Nerezi . . . a renewed perception of the classical tradition."[356]

Apart from a few repetitious pleats bordering the left leg, the figure of the Virgin embodies almost entirely the new "classical" style (fig. 153). In the Virgin's "relaxed . . . position, the plastic quality of her body, . . . the tender, human expression on the softly modeled face, . . . the noble simplicity of the pose and the humanizing languor" Mouriki already recognizes distinct qualities of the "monumental" style as it subsequently appeared in Serbian monuments.[357]

Discussing other parts of the scene, for example the Bathing of the Christ Child, Mouriki observes that some features such as the girl pouring the water, and particularly the relation of the figures to the surrounding landscape, reflect stylistic changes in a direction of a greater realism, conveying a sense of "fresh immediacy" and an

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"extraordinary feeling of space and athmosphere" when compared with respective late Comnenian representations.[358]

The scene of the Baptism of Christ (fig. 154) contains elements of an even stronger stylistic contrast than that found in the Nativity. Whereas the emaciated, dematerialized appearance of John the Baptist epitomizes the longstanding ideals of abstract trends during the twelfth century, the style of the angel standing on the opposite bank of the river signifies a radically different approach to the representation of the human figure (fig. 155). Mouriki aptly describes this angel as follows:

> "The angel . . .is undoubtedly the most impressive of the . . . figures . . . and illustrates the sophisticated avant-garde quality of these frescoes. The figure also possesses some striking features of the 'dynamic' style, as seen in the sweeping movement of the cascading draperies. Moreover, the bulkiness of the body and especially the way in which the folds are shaped over the thigh to emphasize its volume have no parallel among the pictorial material of the late twelfth century. The angel is rendered in a surprisingly naturalistic manner, as if the painter had made use of a living model."[359]

Many other details in the two scenes, rendered by means of delicate coloristic gradations in a painterly and illusionistic technique, unmistakably attest to the birth of a new, organic, three-dimensional style in Byzantine painting. Because of the transitional character of the frescoes in Hosios David, displaying simultaneously old and new stylistic features, it is difficult to narrow their date down further than to the last three decades of the twelfth century. The dates suggested range from the "third quarter of the twelfth century"[360] or the "last third or even last quarter of the twelfth century"[361] to the time "around the turn of the twelfth century, or slightly later".[362]

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The monuments mentioned so far already show a distinct prevalence of some illusionistic and painterly qualities of the new monumental style over the linear and abstract modes that pervaded Byzantine painting in the later twelfth century. According to the dates suggested for them, it is reasonably safe to assign all three monuments to the years not too far from 1200. Further back in time those new qualities appeared occasionally, merely as isolated elements among predominantly abstract treatments. A good example for such an earlier stage is the wall paintings in the monastery of St. John the Theologian on the island of Patmos, placed by circumstantial evidence into the 1180's, but stylistically comprising a conglomerate of various styles from the twelfth and possibly early thirteenth century.[363] Among these paintings the image of the Virgin and Christ Child enthroned strongly reflects an imperial iconography that in all its details betrays the hand of a metropolitan artist (fig. 156). The draperies of the stately, monumental figure of the Virgin show virtually no agitation. The heroically built figure of the Christ Child and his arm sling demonstrate a very classical vocabulary. Mouriki regards this work and a few others of equally high quality as "one of the earliest examples of the 'monumental' style."[364] The faces of both the Virgin and the Child are characterized by a soft modeling, which also appears in the Seven Companions of the Virgin from the scene of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (fig. 157).

A painterly rendering of the face seems indeed to represent an important mark of the new style.[365] Just as in Patmos, linear schematization and dynamic treatment of the draperies are generally

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evident in the images decorating the ossuary church of the monastery of Bačkovo near the city of Plovdiv in Bulgaria. However, there are some figures that reveal a markedly different approach, especially with regard to their faces. The Virgin in the narthex of the upper church (fig. 158) and the Archangel Gabriel in the apse (fig. 159), for example, display such a painterly treatment of their features that they could almost be taken for works belonging to an advanced stage of the monumental style. The calm, pleasant, feminine appearance of the Virgin sharply contrasts with the highly spiritualized image of the Virgin from the Deesis scene in the crypt (fig. 160), demonstrating a juxtaposition of styles within one and the same monument.

An unusual case of a mingling of three different styles in a single work of art has been reported by Kurt Weitzmann from the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai.[366] It concerns an icon from an iconostasis beam depicting a scene of Christ's Ascension which clearly shows a collaboration of three artists, judging by the fact that the scene is stylistically divided into three contrasting parts. Weitzmann believes that one of the masters, whom he also recognizes as the author of some other scenes on the beam, "was a great innovator who transformed the linear design of drapery and facial features favored by the other two masters into a painterly style of fleeting brushstrokes." He places the works of that artist around the turn of the century or perhaps somewhat later, defining them as "the first stage of a new painterly style, insufficiently circumscribed by the term 'impressionistic', which will come to its fruition in the Palaeologan period."

Returning once more to the wall paintings of Bačkovo, their dating brings up a basic consideration regarding the beginnings of the

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monumental style. Elka Bakalova[367] has dated the paintings to the third quarter of the twelfth century on the basis of their close similarity to Nerezi, 1164, and to the frescoes of the church of St. George (Đurđevi Stupovi) near Novi Pazar in Serbia, executed soon after 1171.[368] She thus agreed with Victor Lazarev who, placing the frescoes of Bačkovo into the second half of the twelfth century, wrote in 1967:

> "Doubtless the decoration scheme of Bačkovo goes back to a purely metropolitan tradition, and masters experienced in a free and agile brushwork worked there. The faces are rendered in a smooth and calm manner still untouched by that accentuated linear stylization characteristical of the frescoes of the second half of the twelfth century."[369]

About the same time as Lazarev, Otto Demus, describing the transition from the agitated style to the new monumental style of the thirteenth century, made this statement:

> ". . . a new style made its appearance in Byzantium toward the end of the century. . . A Virgin with Angels in Bačkovo, in western Bulgaria, shows the new style in its first purity. It is quite characteristic that this fresco is usually (but erroneously) dated about 1080, for it has something of the classical air of the late eleventh century. It is, however, certainly a work of about 1200."[370]

More recently, Demus connected Bačkovo with Hosios David,[371] and apparently moved it even into the second decade of the thirteenth century by associating it with Studenica and Žiča.[372]

Precisely as other scholars mentioned earlier in analogous cases (see notes 340, 361 and 363), both authors apparently intend to dissociate Bačkovo from the period of the strongest predominance of linear abstraction, during which illusionistic trends might be least

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expected to occur. Lazarev visualizes in Bačkovo, as it were, a *terminus ante* for a classical Constantinopolitan tradition still present in the second half of the twelfth century, while Demus assumes a *terminus post quem* for the ensuing monumental style some time during the later part of that century. In other words, the painterly qualities appearing in Bačkovo are interpreted by Lazarev as still belonging to an earlier classical tradition, and by Demus as representing a new classical trend, of which he thinks that it "must have developed during the last years before the fall of Constantinople . . . in 1204,"[373] or, as he says on another occasion, it "grew up in Constantinople in the last decades of the twelfth century and spread very quickly throughout most of the Byzantine sphere of influence."[374] In this point Demus is in aggreement with Lazarev who also places the beginnings of the new style "toward the end of the twelfth century."[375]

The diverging opinions regarding the date of Bačkovo, and of monuments mentioned in notes 338, 359 and 361 for that matter, ultimately may lead to the question as to whether illusionistic trends continued throughout the period under consideration. It is certainly correct to regard the last four decades of the twelfth century as the summit of linear and expressive abstraction in Byzantine painting. The various forms of the agitated style are identifiable during that period in vast areas of the Byzantine sphere of influence. On the other hand, the phenomenon of abstract and painterly qualities coexisting in one and the same monument occurs to a greater or lesser extent in every decade of that period, if the dates suggested for respective monuments are taken into account.

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In her survey of Greek monuments of the later twelfth century Doula Mouriki states that monuments in southern Greece and Cyprus generally display not the extreme, Macedonian type of "dynamic" style but rather the "Rococo" or "Art nouveau" version of the late Comnenian style. Citing as an example the wall paintings of the church of St. Hierotheos near Megara in Attica,[376] which she "would like to place into the late 1170's," she observes in the figures "a new code of elegant appearance, which is completely different from the paintings of Kurbinovo . . . and other Macedonian monuments." One of the angels shows a "softly modeled oval face with regular features;" another "recalls the angels in the mosaics at Daphni," having "reacquired the haughtiness and a certain sense of vanity which we tend to associate with classical art, thus indicating that the paintings follow a long and accomplished pictorial tradition." "The confident drawing" of these angels "attests to a revived interest in the classical rendering of the human figure."

It is important to note that Mouriki and Demus, although slightly differing in their determination of the time limits of the "Rococo" style,[377] both emphasize its explicitly Constantinopolitan origin.[378] Incidentally, connections to metropolitan sources have also been assumed for the painterly representations in Bačkovo and Patmos, even though they are not associated with the "Rococo" style.

Some questions suggest themselves on the basis of these findings. Do refined features, elegance, "a revived interest in the classical rendering of the figure" and other painterly tendencies - all traceable to Constantinopolitan influences and occurring in the course of the later twelfth century - herald the incipient monumental style, or are they

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perpetuating a previous classicizing tradition? Can we, in view of these circumstances, really speak of a complete cessation of classical trends during that same period? Would it perhaps not be more appropriate to expand Demus' quotation about the "innumerable combinations and transitions" of late Comnenian styles (see p.135) by assuming an albeit subdued, yet essentially uninterrupted classical sideline which, by the end of the century, regained its full vigor in the form of the new monumental style? I am inclined to agree with Lazarev, who outlines the evolution of the Constantinopolitan illusionistic tradition in the twelfth century as follows:

> "This painterly direction existed side by side with the linear-graphic trend. Although the latter predominated in Byzantine painting of the second half of the twelfth century, it nevertheless did not gain complete control . ."[379]

This review of Byzantine monumental painting of the later twelfth century - presented here by necessity quite selectively - has demonstrated the stylistic complexity characterizing the final stages of that art. Despite the lacunae in dated metropolitan guideposts, there is nonetheless a good reason to assume a metropolitan origin for the abstract-linear qualities of the stylistic mainstream of that period, and even more so for its illusionistic ingredients. The close resemblance in the sequence of stylistic changes, observable in monuments scattered throughout the cultural provinces of Byzantium, clearly points to a common source and thus is evidence of the far-reaching sphere of influence which Constantinople and Salonica, the two leading artistic centers of the empire, have attained in the course of the twelfth century.

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Unfortunately, no securely dated monumental painting exists from the years around the time of the downfall of the Byzantine empire in 1204 that could illustrate the evolutionary stages of the monumental style in the period between Vladimir and its appearance in Serbia by 1209. Obviously the new style "lived on into the thirteenth century" in "symbiosis" with the "complicated late Comnenian style," which, as Demus[380] thinks, "is perhaps a characteristic of the time around 1200, both before and after the turn of the century."[381] Apparently, scholars have generally come to regard this symbiosis or juxtaposition of the two contrasting styles as such a typical phenomenon for the time around 1200 that they tend to attribute to this period all works showing that combination, for example Hosios David (Mouriki), the Euphemia fragment (Belting), Bačkovo (Demus), Kosmosoteira at Pherrai (Djurić), and an iconostasis beam on Sinai (Weitzmann). Two other undated Greek monuments - the paintings of the church of the Zoodochos Pigi (Samarina) in Messenia and those of the church of St. Nicholas in Chalidou in Attica - have been placed by Mouriki also into the same period, as both exhibit the two styles side by side.[382]

At any rate, one can say with some reasonable confidence that within a relatively short time of less than twenty years - that is between Kurbinovo (1191) and Studenica (1209) - the image of the human figure disentangled itself in the leading monuments of the thirteenth century almost completely from the agitated abstractions governing the art of the later twelfth century. This brought about a renewed understanding of the human form as a natural entity endowed with dignity and beauty in the classical sense.

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B. The Monumental Style of the Thirteenth Century in Serbia

The capture of the Byzantine capital by the Latin Crusaders in 1204 brought about a collapse of Constantinople's longstanding artistic leadership. Yet, despite the apparent breakdown of that central source of stylistic innovation, the subsequent decades witnessed a further consistent and obviously undisturbed evolution of the monumental style as the leading current in Byzantine painting. This phenomenon might partly be explained by the undocumented but generally accepted notion of metropolitan artists emigrating at various times into the diaspora following the catastrophe.

As has been shown in the first three chapters, Serbia's adoption of some of Byzantium's religious and cultural norms played a decisive role in its emergence as a new political entity in the Balkans in the course of the thirteenth century. Byzantine art entered Serbian cultural life as readily as it did earlier in other Slavic countries joining the Byzantine "Commonwealth". But the exclusive role of Serbian churches serving as display windows for the evolutionary stages of the leading style was certainly the result of some particularly favorable circumstances: the country's vicinity to Byzantium, the absence of all-destructive invasions by the Mongols during most of the century, the availability of first-class metropolitan artists seeking employment, the demand for them by the Serbian rulers for the decoration of their monasteries and burial churches, and, not least, the outstanding personality of the Archbishop

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Sava, who was well acquainted with artistic circles in both Constantinople and Salonica.

However, much as these circumstances might help explain the appearance of the monumental style on Serbian soil, they do not significantly contribute to a deepening of our knowledge about the origin of the artists importing the new style, nor particularly about the existence of indigenous artists and workshops.

As has been stated in the Introduction, there are in essence six key Serbian monuments -- Studenica (1209), Žiča (c. 1220), Mileševa (before 1228 ?[383]), Peć (c.1250), Morača (1252), and Sopoćani (c.1265) -- that demonstrate the consecutive unfolding of the new style toward its culminating stage at Sopoćani. The art historical position of the paintings in Žiča ought to be clarified by an analysis of their style, a brief survey of some wall paintings in Studenica, and finally by some comparisons between the two monuments.

1. Stylistic Analysis of the Paintings in Žiča

a) Figure Style

The deplorable state of the frescoes, impeding an iconographic analysis, limits even more a study of their style. In the first place, the observator must deal with works that not only are distorted by severe damage but represent just a small fraction of the original cycle. Bodily proportions can properly be judged merely in those few extant figures that have preserved their full length - the Apostles Peter (fig. 83), Luke (fig. 84), Simon, and the young apostle standing next to the latter (fig.

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85). The original quality of the modeling of details in faces, bodies and draperies is almost indeterminable, since the uppermost layer of paint is eroded throughout. Presumably later touch-ups here and there with heavy whites have distorted the original color scale in the garments of some figures as can be seen in Luke (figs. 89, 90) and the first apostle from the left on the west wall (fig. 91).

For all these limitations, the faded remains of the figural images still convey to the beholder a sense of dignity and grandeur attesting to classical artistic concepts. The imposing figures of the apostles are very tall, which is attributable to a marked elongation of the body from the waist downward. The heads therefore appear small, especially when combined with broad shoulders as in Simon (fig. 94), or Peter (fig. 88). In order to enliven the repetitive scheme inherent in a row of frontally standing figures, Simon and the youthful apostle to his left are slightly turned to each other (fig. 85), while Peter (fig. 83) and the figure opposite him in the north transept (fig. 99) turn toward the scenes on the adjoining walls. The *contrapposto* stances of all apostles, suggestive of antique statuary, also contribute to variegation in that scheme. The statuesque quality of the figures standing at ease is further emphasized in that they are placed on a distinct ground strip, which creates the impression of a space existing behind them, albeit empty and of a uniform color.

On the other hand, some of these references to classical devices have become rather codified formulas which the artist seemingly applies not without making certain mistakes when measured by strict classical standards. For example, the distribution of weight in the *contrapposto* varies from one figure to another, but it hardly affects the position of the

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feet which remains quite similar throughout the row. Moreover, the effect of the *contrapposto* itself is markedly reduced due to the fact that thighs and kneecaps are in most figures accentuated on both legs, creating the impression that both knees are bent. Only in the first figure from the left on the west wall is a correct relation between weighted and free leg clearly maintained (fig. 92). The stereotyped delineation of thighs and knees leads in some cases to another awkwardness in relation to the feet. In the figure of the young apostle (fig. 85), the second figure from the left (fig. 87), and especially Luke (fig. 90) the right foot, turned outward, forms with the frontally depicted knee an anatomically impossible angle. A somewhat ambiguous use of classical formulas can be further demonstrated on the figure of the young apostle (figs. 85, 96). When correctly represented, the functional differentiation of the legs in the *contrapposto* stance makes itself felt in shifts along the entire axis, causing the hip of the weighted leg to rise while lowering the shoulder on the same side. The artist undoubtedly must have been aware of this correlation between hip and shoulder as he drew an obviously curved axis in his apostle. But, by lowering the left shoulder instead of the right, which would correctly correspond to the raised right hip, he created a figure with a rather unnatural, almost hunch-backed posture. A slightly curved axis in the figure of Luke (fig. 84) might perhaps indicate a similar, not quite confident handling of *contrapposto*. In most figures, however, the upper body remains very little affected by the varying action of the legs. The position of the hands displays as little diversity as that of the feet: the left hand, carrying scroll or Gospel book, invariably is fixed to a spot slightly below the waist while the right, except that of Peter, is held before the chest.

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Unlike the similarity in the design of postures and gestures, the construction of the garments is in some respects much less uniform. True, the basic element of the drapery in both male and female figures is a closely set, nearly parallel grouping of folds, sometimes tending to the straight and vertical even where they mark out the forms of the body. Peter's garment, for example (figs. 83, 88), is built of straight, predominantly vertical folds that are dissected by only a few diagonal or horizontal lines. Out of this severe system of parallels and sharp angles emerge, like islands, the rounded shapes of the left thigh and the lower right leg and knee. Together with the small loop formed by the mantle above the belt they essentially represent the sole curvilinear elements in the entire garment. The geometric patterns of both major and minor form-designing folds let the drapery appear as if consisting of a stiff textile, especially in the harsh design of the upper right leg, or in the frozen end-piece of the mantle thrown over the left shoulder.

However, the rectilinear treatment of the drapery does not equally prevail in all extant figures. While reaching its strongest expression in Peter it combines with curvilinear motifs in the first apostle from the left on the west wall (fig. 86). The hatching of straight folds in the middle part of the body is here counterbalanced by softly curving contours on the left side, the smooth wave of the mantle falling over the left forearm and ending in a cascade, and the conspicuous ogival folds delineating the right hip. In the next apostle to the right (fig. 87) it is the seam of the mantle which enlivens the system of vertical folds by its sweeping curvilinear design. A balance between straight and curved elements also characterizes the drapery of Simon (fig. 94).

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These differences in the arrangement and construction of the draperies pertain mainly to the mantle, since all the principal folds delineating the parts of the body are located within its area. The tunic, on the contrary, does not participate prominently in the buildup of the body relief. It remains essentially undisturbed, as the dense hatching of its vertical folds around the legs indicates. Only in the cases where a knee is not covered by the mantle, as in Simon (fig. 94), the hatching partially yields to a few curved lines tracing the outline of the lower leg.

The garments of the female figures contrast with those of the men in that they traditionally cover the body like a cloak and lend themselves, more than the male himation, to a rectilinear treatment. Although badly damaged, the draperies of the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene and the woman standing beside her suggest that the bodies of both figures were completely hidden below mantle and tunic. With the exception of a few form-designing folds in the mantle around neck and shoulders, indicating the raised position of hands and lower arms, the dense hatching of vertical and parallel folds, particularly from the waist downward, does not seem to show any disturbances caused whenever the fabric clings to parts of the body. This severe pattern changes only in the area of the bent elbow by displaying a series of sharply angular V-shaped folds (fig. 19). Such a simplicity in the design of the drapery, combined with identical postures and restrained gestures, conveys a sense of immobility and stillness emanating from these two figures.

A quite different effect is produced by the garments of the two women in the Deposition scene. Even though multiple folds fall strictly vertically and undisturbed in large parts of their mantles (fig. 61), the raised hands of each figure bring about a vigorously curved series of

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folds in the portion of the mantle lifted up by the arms. That same action exposes a part of the tunics which appear to have been rather differentiated, as a few traces of zigzagging or ogival folds in the area of the thighs still indicate. The livelier organized garments of these two figures as well as their demonstrative gestures of lamentation and despair reflect, in contrast to the motionless, pensive group in the Crucifixion, their state of agitation and anxiety.

Notwithstanding the occasional minor shortcomings in the design of some details in the figure style discussed earlier, all figural representations appear markedly corporeal and three-dimensional, despite the abundance of geometric patterns in their garments. The lines designing the draperies clearly articulate the parts of the body they cover. The major form-designing folds contribute to a feeling of plasticity which, linear as it may be, lets the figure be perceived as a well-differentiated organism that has volume and weight. The modeling technique, wherever still discernible, shows a rational buildup of highlights either by different values of the basic hue of the textile, for instance in the mantle of Peter (fig. 88), or by juxtaposing varying values of different hues such as purple - brown, blue - grey, and reddish brown - grey in the mantles of John (fig. 22), Simon (fig. 94), and the youthful apostle (fig. 96) respectively. It is unfortunate that in the loincloth of Christ, superb in both design and modeling, only insignificant traces remain of the original coloristic gradation (fig. 14).

The confident handling of either coloristic modeling or line in building bodies of different physiques, or in expressing individual qualities, is evidenced by a comparison between Peter (fig. 88), Simon (fig. 94), and the young apostle (fig. 96). In Peter, the dry hard lines of

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some straight folds which sharply stand out by a much stronger shade without transitional values create the impression of a lean or even haggard figure, especially in the lower half. The folds in Simon's mantle, although apparently modeled equally little, consist of broad diffused bands of a lighter hue than that of the mantle, rendering the figure more massive and voluminous. As the oldest among all the apostles, Peter displays in his draperies an absolute predominance of rectilinear motifs. On the opposite end stands the young apostle (fig. 96) whose garment abounds in major and minor curvilinear folds while the few straight verticals merely stress the slenderness of the youthful figure.

I am inclined to think that the entire surviving decoration of the transepts could be the work of one hand, at least as far as the draperies are concerned. The arrangement of the folds in the exposed part of the tunic below the right shoulder is virtually identical in all apostles. A deep straight fold falling from the left shoulder and ending slightly below the left hand in a peculiar roundlet, best visible in Peter (fig. 88), occurs in all apostles except one case (fig. 86) where it seems to be absent. The bottom hemline of the tunic is partly composed of folds which form separate rectangles overlapping one another like shingles of a roof and having no visible connection between each other. This design is found in Luke (fig. 90), in one apostle on the west wall (fig. 93), in one apostle on the north wall (fig. 99), and in John from the Deposition (fig. 63). Sometimes the diagonal hemline of the mantle is similarly constructed by means of sharply angular units, for example in Luke (fig. 90) and the first two apostles on the west wall (figs. 92, 93). A turn of a figure sideways is indicated by a three-quarter or profile view of the respective knee and lower leg, as shown in Peter (fig. 83), Simon (fig.94),

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and the apostle on the north wall (fig. 99). In all three cases the folds along the lower leg are designed essentially alike.

b) Composition

As regards compositional qualities we are left with the Crucifixion as the sole narrative scene surviving more or less intact. The artist's aim in this work (fig. 11) doubtless was to create a composition of utmost stillness and monumentality. He achieved this in several ways. The two groups consisting of figures, angels, and buildings are arranged in strict symmetry around the cross. The latter stands slightly off center so that the inclined head of Christ coincides with the axis of the panel. A circle drawn around a point on the contour of Christ's right cheek precisely touches the haloes of the Virgin, John, and the two flying angels. The balance of the composition is thus established in the figure of Christ as fulcrum. It is not significantly disturbed by the different number of figures in the two groups: Both occupy an identical space. Most conspicuous is the size of the empty space surrounding the cross. Its entire width is just a little smaller than that of the two lateral spaces combined. The close-knit blocks of figures and buildings overlapping each other in these spaces form a sharp contrast with the emptiness of the central space which separates them from the solitary figure of Christ. At the same time, this isolation is counteracted by Christ's arms stretching out strictly horizontally into the flanking spaces and uniting, as it were, the figures below through himself. This is further emphasized by his spoken words that ran continually, parallel with his arms, across the empty space. The absolute predominance of verticals and horizontals renders the composition static and immobile. The large

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central space, extending vertically from the upper edge of the panel down to the now lost wall of Jerusalem, presumably contained originally only Christ, his cross, and his words. Such a design immensely enhances the prominent position of Christ by subjecting to him every part of the scene. The existence of such an explicit and immediate focal point in this representation renders it truly monumental. Some other stylistic qualities in this scene will be discussed more appropriately when comparing it with the Crucifixion in Studenica.

Judging by the distribution of the fragmentary figures in the surviving patches of the Deposition (fig. 59), it seems likely that this scene was designed along principles similar to those in the Crucifixion. Here, too, the extant lateral space at the right is tightly packed with figures and buildings while separated from the central part of the scene by an empty area. The two figures in the small fragment at the left are located as far away from the axis of the panel as the opposite group, so that we may assume the existence of an analogous empty space to the left of the cross. Despite a supposedly similar construction of the spaces, the effect of this scene must, however, have been radically different from that of the Crucifixion. There, all movement is arrested through the absence of diagonals. Their presence here is already indicated by the slanting ladder, and they must have been notably displayed by Christ's drooping body being removed from the cross. The overall effect of this scene therefore may have been considerably more dynamic, as already suggested in connection with the discussion of the garments.

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c) Space

The damaged state of the two scenes, especially of the Deposition, permits only a limited assessment of spatial relations. In extant Crucifixion scenes the addition of background architecture behind the wall of Jerusalem is certainly not very common and is virtually absent in Deposition scenes. Its presence here in both scenes, even in a distinctly oblique view, may demonstrate the artist's intention to deepen the pictorial space.

Another, though certainly minor implication of a rationally receding space may be the nearly imperceptible, yet positively measurable diminution in the size of the haloes with increasing distance of the figures from the foreground, although not necessarily accompanied by a corresponding diminution of the heads. It is consistently evident in all three groups, that is in the Crucifixion the two respective groups headed by the Virgin and John, and in that of the three women in the Deposition. One might argue that such a treatment merely reflects a hierarchic ranking of the figures according to their importance or holiness. Indeed, in numerous representations, particularly in those of a provincial character, Christ's halo is larger than all others, which are of a smaller but uniform size regardless of the position of the figures in the scene. A typical example is found in the Karanlık kilise in Asia minor (fig. 41). The scene in Žiča obviously follows the usual formula of Christ's halo exceeding the sizes of those of the Virgin and John, but at the same time it clearly introduces a measurable diminution of the haloes in the figures standing further back, as a comparison of the diameters of the haloes in both scenes shows.

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Crucifixion		Deposition	
Christ	41.3 cms	Christ	40.7 cms
John	38.3 cms	Front left woman	40.2 cms
Centurion	31.8 cms	Fr. right woman	40.2 cms
The Virgin	37.2 cms	Back woman	28.5 cms
Front woman	30.9 cms		
Back woman	28.5 cms		

While this diminution might imply a hierarchical grading between John and the Centurion, or the Virgin and the other women, in the latter case this argument would be questionable because of the fact that the woman standing farthest back has a halo that is still smaller than the one of the woman standing before her.

The way in which the haloes overlap in the two women standing in the foreground of the Deposition scene (fig. 60) made it somewhat difficult to compare their diameters. Standing essentially side by side, the two figures have haloes that appear to be of an equal size, yet larger than the one of the third woman standing behind them. One could hardly speak here of any ranking among these figures.

If the supposition of the artist's rational treatment of the haloes is correct, he faced some problem in this scene. In relation to the woman standing closest to the picture plane -- let us call her "Nr.1" -- Christ probably occupies a place somewhere in the middleground, perhaps in line with the third woman ("Nr.3"). Traditionally his halo should by no means be smaller than that of "Nr.1", regardless of his position in the scene. Indeed, it is of virtually the same size. However, either because of a possibly slight diminution of Christ's head as compared to those of the

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women, or because of its slight off center position with respect to its halo, the latter appears larger than all others. And since the halo of "Nr.3" is measurably smaller than that of "Nr.1", it is also necessarily smaller than the halo of Christ. Thus the artist achieved his spatial effect without violating tradition.

It is unfortunate that the poor condition of the scenes does not permit any more tangible observations of their spatial relations, which perhaps would make this admittedly lengthy discussion about halo sizes superfluous.

Most regrettable of all is the fact that not a single face, the main exponent of a figure's expression, survives with undamaged surface paint. Still, looking at the faces of the Virgin (fig. 18), John (fig. 22), Simon (fig. 95), or the unidentified young apostle (fig. 97), one cannot but appreciate even in the poor remains of the underpaint their noble pensiveness and spirituality. In every instance the soft and rounded features harmoniously combine with the stately appearance of the figure into a whole that betrays an unmistakably Hellenic conception of beauty and poise.

2. The Art of Studenica

The original decoration of the church of the Virgin in the monastery of Studenica, dated 1209 by an inscription ,[384] is generally regarded as the principal guidepost for the evolution of the monumental style in the thirteenth century. Although incomparably better preserved than the paintings in Žiča, the Studenica decoration nevertheless

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suffered much damage in the course of the centuries, so that its present total area amounts to merely one fifth of the original.

Since the paintings will serve here primarily as a basis for comparison, various aspects of a technical nature such as cleanings, uncoverings of inscriptions, or repaintings in later periods are of minor concern, perhaps also the question of the division of hands in the original work (scholars advocating either one or two masters). Another strong division of thought, concerning the origin of the artist or artists, developed after 1951[385] when an extensive overlay of nineteenth-century frescoes was completely removed and the original decoration given a final cleaning.

Even a cursory look at the paintings of Studenica will confirm a nearly complete absence of stylistic qualities characterizing the dynamic style of the Late Comnenian period. In the scene of the Proskomide, that is the Consecration of the Bread and Wine,[386] the garments of the apostles (fig. 161) do not indicate any tendency toward agitation. The network of decorative folds has been replaced by a rational system of major and minor folds that correctly delineate the forms of the body and contribute by their simple design to a feeling of monumentality. Curiously, there appears to be some overemphasis of the right thigh, which may be a personal mark of the artist, since it frequently occurs in other figures and scenes, for example in the figure of St John the Baptist (fig. 163), where a voluminous right thigh contrasts with the emaciated body, particularly with the frail lower legs.

Located at the west wall of the naos is a representation of the Crucifixion (fig. 45) which forms the focal point of the entire cycle. The conspicuous size of the scene and its figures contrasts with the generally

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smaller dimensions in the preceding period. As already noted earlier, the draperies have lost all their "independent life" and vermiculated shapes, displaying rational and sober fold arrangements. The relatively good state of preservation of this scene in Studenica - at least in its basic parts - allows us to make some comparisons with the analogous scene in Žiča. This is all the more fortunate since there are hardly any other comparable scenes in the two monuments.

3. The Crucifixion Scenes of Studenica and Žiča

The two scenes display not only obvious differences but also some subtle variations that may offer unexpected art historical answers. Their juxtaposition - Studenica (S) fig. 45, and Žiča (Ž) fig. 11 - indicates that the artist of (S) created to a certain extent a devotional image in which spatial aspects are of lesser concern. Although the scene occupies the foreground before the wall of Jerusalem exactly as originally in (Ž) (see p.54), the star-spangled background precludes any further recession of the space. In contrast, the artist of (Ž) strongly expanded the background by adding foreshortened buildings receding in space.

Significantly different is the treatment of the central space around the cross. In (S) large and small figures form a relatively narrow and busy area, in (Ž) it is almost frighteningly empty, if one disregards the lost line of words between the Virgin and John.

Unfortunately, a comparison of the principal figures cannot be very detailed. The Virgin in (S), her head inclined and showing her grief on her sorrowful face, stands with both legs obviously weighted equally. Her right hand is pointing to Christ in a demonstrative way as is that of the woman standing behind her. The Virgin in (Ž) is pitifully damaged

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(see also figs. 17, 18). In the way her frontal outline slopes down she appears to stand in a comfortable posture - perhaps in a *contrapposto* similar to the woman behind the Virgin in (S)? Both hands are held so close to the body that the pointing gesture of the right hand becomes somehow deemphasized and is perhaps not meant to be displayed for the beholder as it undoubtedly is in (S). The grief of this Virgin in (Ž) seems more introverted, reflective, closer to a classical restraint.

Comparing the figures of the Apostle John in both scenes (see also figs. 20-22) must be more or less limited to the upper half of the body.

Actually, it is here where the differences are most obvious, both in iconography and style. The evolution of John's image has been discussed on pages 53-58, and a table in the Appendix gives an overview of the variations in time.

The action of John in (S), with the palm of the right hand placed at the cheek and the left holding a loop of the mantle, is for his period the most common version. The bent little finger (see figs. 44, 49) appears occasionally, perhaps more frequently around the early thirteenth century. However, in the question about mustache and beard it seems to be impossible to see any developments. They appear to be extremely rare in the figure of John. John's action in (Ž) could, at first glance and for the Byzantine sphere, be labeled "antiquated". An argumentation concerning the iconography of John in (Ž) was given on pages 61, 62.

Stylistically the two figures might perhaps follow a relationship analogous to that of the two figures of the Virgin. Thus John in (S), who can certainly be called slender when compared with the almost monumental John in (Ž), shows his reflective mood as do the women opposite him. But is it not as if he were equally aware of the beholder?

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Incidentally, the quite reserved gesture of acclamation of the Centurion standing behind John does not really seem to support his exclamation "Truly He was God's Son" - unlike his counterpart in(Ž), who enthusiastically throws his arm in the air to strengthen his words.

The smooth and elegant design of the head and right hand of John in (Ž) indeed contributes to a very classical appearance of the upper body, as if John forms a kind of counterpart to the Virgin in that both turn their thoughts inward and away from the present event. At any rate, he surely is not aware of a beholder. It is unfortunate that we will never know whether his eyes were open or closed.

The last, but perhaps most pertinent image in this comparison is the figure of the crucified Christ. Certain qualities of the representation in (Ž) as well as some aspects of the evolution of the Crucifixion scene have been discussed earlier (see pp. 44-45). In (S) (fig. 45) the sagging body with slanting arms and a symmetrical position of the feet on the suppedaneum closely follows the tradition as established during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see figs. 38, 44, 46, or 47. In (Ž) (fig. 12) the curve of the sagging body is similar to that in (S), but other details speak of a different concept. The arms, stretched out virtually horizontally, are not really holding the body. As compared to the delicate, almost fragile and emaciated body in (S), the one in (Ž), showing visibly more substance and volume, could almost be called heroic. In fact, the way in which the torso in (Ž) is standing on the suppedaneum (figs. 12 and 26) [387] creates the impression of a comfortable *quasi - contrapposto* stance, which by no means can be said of (S) because of the awkward rectangular position here of the feet. As fig. 26 proves, the angle between Christ's feet is smaller than in (S), permitting the left knee

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to move closer to the right one, which results in a more natural and elegant stance.

A search among 150 Crucifixion scenes (Appendix) has shown one monument, the church of the Saviour near Neredica in Russia, dated 1199, where Christ displays a genuine *contrapposto* stance, the free left foot standing behind the engaged right foot. The poor condition of the fresco does not allow us to recognize more details. Finally, a search further back in time resulted in the find of a Byzantine ivory dated by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann in the tenth century (fig. 165). The authors describe the work as follows (excerpt):

> "The Crucifixion scene is very close to antique forms in the contrapposto stance of Christ and John, as well as in the manner in which the latter and also Mary gather their draperies, and finally in the anatomy." [388]

This representation shows some important details concerning the figure of Christ. Looking, for example, at some contemporary scenes of the Crucifixion (see figs. 43 and 55), the norm was a strictly vertical torso forming rectangles with the strictly horizontal arms. The present figure significally deviates from that norm in that it displays some kind of a *semi-contrapposto,* since both feet remain strictly spread. Although the hands are visibly nailed to the cross, the arms indicate by their bent shape that they do not carry the body. All in all, this figure of Christ appears to be quite unusual, and the question remains whether in its period it was as well-known as other types which later disappeared.

The Christ in Žiča, being significantly different from the tenth-century image in various qualities, nevertheless moves in direction of a more natural, so to say "relaxed" *quasi - contrapposto* by an improved position of the feet. His straight arms as well as his words reach out to

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his mother and his beloved disciple, uniting them with himself across the empty space into a well-balanced triangle of noble forms.

To sum up the comparison between the Crucifixion scenes of Studenica and Žiča, it seems correct to say that there are not only significant differences in the iconographic content but more so in their style. Both monuments clearly do away with the later twelfth-century ideals and demonstrate the renewed interest in volume and simple forms. But it is Žiča that obviously inaugurates the progressive thirteenth-century trend in the subsequent Serbian monuments by reviving iconographic types and styles of the Macedonian Renaissance and even earlier periods, as has repeatedly been mentioned.[389] By means of this, Žiča also demonstrates its correct art historical position in relation to Studenica.

Both monuments move close together again when it comes to the complex question of Western motifs incorporated in their iconography. In view of the geographic position of Serbia as a borderland between the Byzantine East and the Roman West - an important factor in her history (see Chapter I) - this should by no means be surprising. Items in Žiča such as the Gospel book of John, the weeping angels, the haloes on all the women, or the personifications of Ecclesia and Synagogue in Studenica are sometimes believed to be of Western origin, perhaps because they were common in the West for a long period.[390]

A problem that has been stirring up the minds predominantly of Serbian art historians concerns the question of the origin of the artists of Žiča, and particularly whether they were the same who earlier painted Studenica. About eleven years separate the decorations of the two monuments. Both have an essentially identical historical background in

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that the main sponsor of their paintings was the same person: Sava, at first archimandrite in Studenica, then archbishop in Žiča.[391] Is it conceivable that he kept the workshop that painted the church at Studenica idle for eleven years -- so far no other major Serbian monument is known from that period -- and then sent them to Žiča? Scholars are divided in this question, as some excerpts show:

> "But even the bad condition indicates rather clearly that the frescoes. . . in Žiča are the work of that very same artist team which decorated a decade earlier the church of the Virgin in Studenica. This is easily recognizable by the identical drawing of the monumental figures and the way of gathering the draperies, by the identical (with minimal variations) iconographical scheme in both Crucifixion scenes. . . ." [392] (Tasić). T

> " Although executed under Sava's directives, those frescoes [in Žiča], whether by arrangement or style, are not similar to the frescoes . . . in Studenica. . . . Observing a monumentality of style and a restraint in expression, the masters in Žiča give their figures more freedom in their movements and elegance in their postures. The frescoes in Žiča grew out of a different iconographic thinking and different artistic understanding, -- the commissioner remained the same, but neither the function of the church nor the artists are the same. . . . The apostles . . . display the Hellenistic tradition of Byzantine painting - correctness of proportions, statuesque character of postures of postures . . . In Serbian painting they are the first figures that by their proportions and movements resemble antique conversing figures. . ." [393] (Kašanin).

> "If one compares the different frescoes found in Serbian churches and monasteries of the XIIIth century and preserved up to our days . . . one will be able to ascertain an astonishing fact: except

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> for one single example, nowhere is it possible to establish that two sets of frescoes were executed by one and the same artist or by the same group of painters. Nowhere can one find the same artists executing the paintings in two different monuments in Serbian lands. . ." [394](Djurić).

Tasić's and Kašanin's arguments appear not to be sufficient or explicit enough to establish identical or different teams. Moreover, Tasić's statement about the "identical (with minimal variations) iconographical scheme in both Crucifixion scenes" is downright wrong, demonstrating the author's superficial approach. How minimal are "minimal variations"? I believe that there are significant iconographic differences between the two cycles, reflecting some art historical shifts taking place in the period between the respective decorations of the two monuments. Stylistically such changes are less notable and certainly not comparable with the subsequent dramatic evolution of style leading towards Sopoćani. That great development towards classical ideals in Byzantine painting must have been preceded by a return of an iconography that was dominant during the classical period of the Macedonian Renaissance.

In view of the fact that Archbishop Sava beyond any doubt was thoroughly familiar with the latest trends in church decoration, it is difficult to understand why he deliberately chose for the decoration of his archiepiscopal church a truly anachronistic iconography. In the two surviving scenes of the Crucifixion and Deposition alone, we already find four flagrant "aberrations" in Byzantine painting of the early thirteenth century:

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1) The crucified Christ is not a contemporary type (165-7);
2) St John with obsolete Gospel book and gesture (56-8);
3) The inscription with the Gospel text in the Crucifixion (58-60);
4) Positions and actions of the Virgin and St John in the Deposition (80-82).

These anomalies are hardly incidental and must reflect some logical decisions on the part of Sava. Hiring some painters in Constatinople on his journey back from Nicaea, he very possibly may have made sure to get people knowing the latest trend, such as a Deposition scene displaying a posticonoclastic iconography.

It is appropriate in this connection to recollect the fact that Sava already during the painting campaign of the Studenica church in 1208/9 seemed to pursue an idea of introducing archaic iconography such as the Proskomide scene (see note 386).

The aim of this discussion is to prove that the images in Žiča do indeed demonstrate the conscious intention of their sponsor Sava to reproduce in his country the innovations in Byzantine painting he saw during his stay in the Byzantine capital. Again, if the problem would concern only one, even two odd images in the cycle, other conclusions might be possible, as for example Western influences in the case of John in the Crucifixion, an image that was then for over two hundred years obsolete in Byzantine art (see p. 57 for the appearance of this motif of John in the West). But, the same image of John, together with the inscription and especially the totally anachronistic Deposition creates a very different combination, one that favors a conscientious revival of Byzantine posticonoclastic and tenth-century models.

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Thus again, and one last time as a concluding thought, Kurt Weitzmann's idea about the trend of a revival of the art of the Macedonian Renaissance in the course of the thirteenth century toward the Palaeologan Renaissance (see p. 61) may perhaps still be the best explanation for Žiča's "enigmatic" frescoes. How regretful, that so few of them, faded and decimated as they are, have come down to us.

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NOTES

1) George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (1969), chaps. V,VI.
2) For the history of Byzantine-Slav relations see Constantin Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben,* v. 1 (1911); M. Dinić, The Balkans, 1018-1499. *Cambridge Medieval History,* v. 4, pt. 1 (1966-7), chap. 12; Ostrogorsky, *History* (1969); Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (1971).
3) The Serbian župa comprised an administrative unit, usually consisting of a number of villages occupying a physiographic landscape (e.g. a river valley), its leader called župan (Jireček, *Geschichte,* 1911, 127-8). Early in history the area of Serbian settlement on the Balkans became divided into the littoral Dioclea or Zeta, and the interior Raška with its capital Ras on the Ibar river. After a long and changeful history the two parts were finally united politically into the state of Serbia by Stephen Nemanja.
4) Jovanka Kalić, Božidar Ferjančić, and Ninoslava Radošević-Maksimović eds., Vizantijski izvori za naroda Jugoslavije (Fontes byzantini historiam populorum Jugoslaviae spectantes), v. 4. *SANU,*VI, *Posebna izd.* v. 12 (1971), 164 and n. 194, 246 and n. 8; Mihailo Laskaris, *Vizantiske princeze u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (1926), 7-24.
5) The twenty-fifth of March 1195 is mentioned explicitly as the date of abdication in Nemanja's *Vita* (Stanislaus Hafner ed., Hl.Sava, Das Leben Simeons. *AH*, v. 1, 1962, 45). Some authors nevertheless consider the following year a more plausible date by connecting Nemanja's decision with the fact that in April 1195 the father-in-law of his son Stephen had become emperor (Jireček, *Geschichte*, 1911, 277; St. Stanojević, Nemanja. *GNČ,* v. 42, 1933, 123; Relja Novaković, O datumu i razlozima Nemanjinog silaska s prestola. *ZRVI,* v. 11, 1968, 137; Ostrogorsky, *History,* 1969, 409, n. 1). The argument is further supported by the circumstance that, possibly under pressure from Constantinople, Nemanja overstepped at his abdication his first-born son and legitimate successor Vukan, who was given the regional rule over Zeta and

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whose ambitions were severely hurt by that decision (St. Stanojević, Hronologija borbe izmedju Stevana i Vukana. *SKA, Glas,* 1933, 93).

6) The dates suggested (1199, 1200) are discussed by Franjo Barišić, Hronološki problemi oko godine Nemanjine smrti. *HZ,* v. 2 (1971), 31-58.

7) A letter from Pope Innocent to Vukan from the 8th of January 1199 indicates that papal legates had been requested by Vukan and were sent with letters to him and Stephen (Othmar Hageneder et al. eds., Die Register Innocenz' III, v. 1: 1. Pontifikatsjahr, 1198-99. *Publikationen der Abteilung für hist. Studien des Österr. Kulturinstituts in Rom, 1964, 759-60).*

8) From Stephen's letter to Pope Innocent, written between January and July 1199: "...S(tephanus)...Magnus Iuppanus totius Servye, salutem tamquam patri suo spirituali...Nos autem semper consideramus in vestigia sancte Romane ecclesie,...et preceptum sancte Romane ecclesie semper custodire...et in proximo legatos nostros vellemus transmittere ad sanctitatem vestram". (August Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium,* 1863-75. Reprinted by Otto Zeller, Osnabrück 1968, 6).

9) Stanojević, Hronologija (1933), 95-6.

10) Ibid., 98.

11) The union with Rome finally materialized in 1204 with the coronation of Kalojan by a papal legate and the consecration of the Bulgarian archbishop as Primate of Bulgaria (Dinić, The Balkans, 1967, 524).

12) Ostrogorsky, *History* (1969), 422-34.

13) St. Stanojević, Stevan Prvovenčani. *GNČ,* v. 43 (1934), 23-4.

14) Stephen's contacts with Rome after his reinstatement as Grand Župan became inactive for at least a decade.

15) Each has written a *Vita* of Stephen Nemanja (Hafner ed., Sava, Das Leben Simeons, 1962; Idem, Stefan der Erstgekrönte, Das Leben des Hl. Simeon Nemanja. *AH,* v. 1, 1962).

16) The date of the actual canonization of Nemanja is unknown. Based on later accounts and popular belief, he was canonized on Mount Athos one year after his death (Stanojević, Nemanja, 1933, 126;

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Dušan Kašić, Sveti Sava. In: *Srpska Pravoslavna Crkva 1229-1969. Spomenica o 750-godišnjici autokefalnosti,* 1969, 22). On the other hand, a date of 1219 has been suggested on the basis of circumstantial evidence (Dragomir Kostić, Učešće sv. Save u kanonizaciji sv. Simeona. *Svetosavski zbornik,* v. 1, 208-9, *SKA, Posebna izd.* v. 47, 1936).

17) Jireček, *Geschichte* (1911), 295.

18) Coalitions of the Latin empire aimed against Serbia were accomplished with Bulgaria in 1214, with Hungary in 1215 (Idem, 293-5). In both cases war was about to break out, yet actions were halted by unforeseen events which Stephen all attributed to miraculous intercessions of his heavenly patron, the Saint Symeon (see Hafner ed., Stefan, Das Leben des Hl.Simeon Nemanja, 1962, 112-28).

19) "Stephanus...dum neptem Henrici Dandulo Ducis accepisset in Conjugem, ex suasione uxoris abjecto schismate per Nuntios a Papa obtinuit, ut Regio titulo decoratus esset, et per Legatum Cardinalem ad hoc missum cum Conjuge coronati sunt". (Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius ed., Andreae Danduli Chronicon, col. 340-1. *Rerum italicarum scriptores,* v. 12, 1728).

20) Stanojević, Stevan Prvovenčani (1934), 36-7.

21) Lazar Mirković ed., Domentijan, Život svetoga Simeona. Srpska Književna Zadruga, kn. 282, *Stare srpske biografije* (1938), 313. Concerning a correct translation of the respective passage see D. Anastasijević, Je li sveti Sava krunisao Prvovenžanog? *Bogoslovlje,* v. 10 (1935), 241.

22) Pope Honorius' registers do not contain any documentation of that event. Besides the source mentioned (see n. 26) a brief note only is found in the Historia Salonitana of the Archdeacon Thomas of Spalato who places the event into the time when the Hungarian King Andrew II departed from Spalato for Palestine in August 1217: "Eodem tempore Stephanus dominus Servie sive Rasie, qui mega iupanus appellabatur, missis apochrisariis ad romanum sedem, impetravit ab Honorio summo pontifice coronam regni. Direxit namque legatum a latere suo, qui veniens coronavit eum primumque regem constituit terre sue". Fr. Rački ed., Thomas

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Archidiaconus, Historia Salonitana. *Monumenta spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, v. 26 (1894), 91.

23) Stanojević, Stevan Prvovenčani (1934), 41-2.

24) In a letter to Honorius, written in 1220 (see ns. 43 and 46), Stephen assures the Pope of his unchanged loyalty.

25) There is no serious objection to the opinion that Sava began to think of an independent Serbian church already some time before the quarrel with Stephen while he was involved in the strengthening of Orthodoxy in his country (Kašić, Sveti Sava, 1969, 24. See also below, 21 and 22).

26) In 1018, after the annihilation of the Bulgarian empire, the Emperor Basil II degraded the Bulgarian patriarchate in Achrida (Ohrid) to an archbishopric that became the administrative center for all dioceses of the conquered territories (Ostrogorsky, *History,* 1969, 311).

27) Athough being autocephalous, that is not subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, the archbishop of Ohrid was appointed directly by the Byzantine emperor (Ostrogorsky, ibid.).

28) Jireček, *Geschichte* (1911), 295-6.

29) Obolensky, *Commonwealth* (1971), 240.

30) Jireček, *Geschichte* (1911), 298.

31) The date of 1219 is stated by the so-called *Chronica serbica Despotae Georgii Branković*: "Anno 6727 (1219) factus est Sanctus Sava Archiepiscopus" (Novaković ed., Brankovićev letopis. *SANU, Odel.društv.nauka, Posebna izd.*, v. 339, 1960, 43). It is generally accepted, see Jireček, *Geschichte* (1911), 298; Ostrogorsky, *History* (1969), 431; Dinić, The Balkans (1967), 531.

Franz Dölger (Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches, 3.Teil: Regesten von 1204-1282. *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit,* 1932, 7, no.1705) places the event into the early spring of 1220 for two reasons. Dated May 1220 a letter was written to Sava from the Archbishop Demetrios Chomatianos of Ohrid (see below on p. 10 and n. 34). Because of its emotional character the letter must have been written not too long after the news of Sava's ordination had

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reached its author. Furthermore, the account of Theodosije (Đurđe Daničić ed., Theodosije, *Život svetoga Save,* 1860,131 - Hereafter cited as "Theodosije" with page number) mentions the presence of many hierarchs at the solemn act, which could be consistent with the fact that in December 1219 the Emperor Theodore had sent out an invitation for a synod, to be held in Nicaea on Easter of 1220 (see Dölger, Regesten, 1932, 7, no.1704).

32) See references in preceding note. A dispute over the kind of privileges granted to Sava in Nicaea (see St. Stanojević, Sveti Sava i nezavisnost srpske crkve. *SKA, Glas,* v. 161, 1934, 199-251, with bibliography and analysis of the various suggestions) centers on the account of Domentijan (Lazar Mirković ed., Domentijan, *Život svetoga Save,* 1938, 113-7 - Hereafter cited as "Domentijan" with page number) and Theodosije (Theodosije, 126-32). Both sources cite the literal text of a nonextant patriarchal decree that confirms Sava as archbishop of Serbia, with the right to ordain bishops and lower clergy in his territory. Regarding the autonomy of the Serbian church the two accounts diverge considerably. According to Domentijan , Sava asks the Patriarch after his ordination for the privilege of the Serbian bishops to elect from their midst their own archbishop, without the obligation of the latter to travel to the Patriarch for confirmation. The Patriarch grants Sava this request in oral form and releases him with his blessings. Theodosije knows of a written approval of that request, signed by the Patriarch and the hierarchs present, but does not produce the actual text of that document. These discrepancies caused some researchers to assume a later date for the conferment of autonomy, perhaps on the occasion of Sava's second visit to Nicaea while returning from a journey to the Holy Land in 1229 (Stanojević, Sveti Sava i nezavisnost, 1934, 245-9). This opinion has been opposed by others who, for a number of reasons, advocate the credibility of the two writers despite the missing documentary evidence (Nikola Radojčić, Sveti Sava i avtokefalnost srpske i bugarske crkve. *SKA, Glas,* v. 179, 1939, 177.

33) See below, chp. II.

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34) George Ostrogorsky ed., Pismo Dimitrija Homatijana svetomu Savi. *Svetosavski Zbornik*, v. 2, 91-113, *SKA, Posebna izd.*, v. 125 (1939).

35) Domentijan, 116.

36) Excerpt from a letter of Stephen to Pope Honorius III, entered in the papal register under the fourth year of Honorius' office in March 1220: "Sanctissimo patri et domino Honorio...Stephanus dei gratia totius Serviae ...rex coronatus, inclinationem summe fidelitatis constantia. Quemadmodum omnes christiani diligunt vos et honorant, et pro patre et domino retinent: ita nos desideramus sancte romane ecclesie et vestri fidelem filium nominari,"... *Reg.Vat.* tom. 2, Lib. 4, Epist. 681, fol. 167 (cited from Fr.Rački, Pismo prvovienčanoga kralja srpskoga Stjepana I papi Honoriju III god. 1220. *Jugoslav.Akad.znan. i umjetn., Starine,* v. 7, 1875, 55).

37) "(Sanctus Sava Archiepiscopus) Anno 6729 (1221) coronavit Stephanum 2-dum filium Nemagnae fecitque eum Regem"... (Novaković ed., Brankovićev letopis, 1960, 43.

38) Domentijan, 136-139; Theodosije, 141-4.

39) Continuation of the letter quoted under n.43: ..."affectans quod benedictio et confirmatio dei et vestra sit, si placet, super coronam et terram nostram semper manifeste. Et ab hoc vobis nostrum episcopum Metodium nomine destinamus, ut, quicquid ex vestri sanctitate et voluntate processerit, nobis per latorem presentium litteris, si placet, rescribatis".

40) Sima Čirković, Serbien im XIII. Jahrhundert. L'art byzantin du XIIIe siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani 1965 (1967), 121 (Hereafter cited as "Symposium 1965" with page number).

41) Some examples are found in Ljubomir Stojanović, Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi. *SKA, Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i knjiž. srpsk. naroda,* v. 16 (1927), 24, 25, 26, 27, 47, 176.

42) Jireček, *Geschichte* (1911), 296-7; Ostrogorsky, *History* (1969), 431, n. 2; Sima Čirković, Pravoslavna crkva u srednjovekovnoj srpskoj državi. In: *Srpska Pravoslavna Crkva 1219-1969* (1969), 38; Rački, Pismo (1875), 54; Dinić, The Balkans (1967), 531.

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43) Anastasijević, Je li sveti Sava (1935), 211-312; Mirjana Ćorović-Ljubinković, Pretečina desnica i drugo krunisanje Prvovenčanog. *SAN, Starinar,* v. 5-6 (1954-5), 105-12.

44) According to Domentijan, Methodius also presented the Pope with a precious chandelier that "stands at the tomb of Saint Peter and Paul to the present day". (Domentijan, 136).

45) Anastasijević, Je li sveti Sava (1935), 307.

46) Fr. Miklosich ed., *Monumenta serbica spect. historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii* (1858), 13.

47) Anastasijević, Je li sveti Sava (1935), 271-2.

48) Ibid., 305-6; Đorđe Sp. Radojičić, The Slavic response to Byzantine poetry (rapport complementaire). *Actes du XII Congr. internat. d'Études byzantines,* v. 1 (1963), 435.

49) Nikola Radojčić, Sveti Sava. *GNČ,* v. 44 (1935), 38.

50) Đ.Sp. Radojičić, The Slavic response (1963), 434-5.

51) Vojislav J. Djurić, Istorijske kompozicije u srpskom slikarstvu Srednjega veka i njihove književne paralele. *ZRVI,* v. 8 (1964), 69-90, v. 10 (1967), 121-48, v. 11 (1968), 99-119 (with French summary on 119-27); Gojko Subotić, Aperçus sur certains traits stylistiques de l'oeuvre de Domentijan et de la peinture monumentale du XIIIe siècle. Symposium 1965, 125-30.

52) For example, the story of Joseph depicted in the narthex of Sopoćani is thought to imply a parallel to the life of Nemanja (see Radivoje Ljubinković, Sur le symbolisme de l'histoire de Joseph du narthex de Sopoćani. Symposium 1965, 207-37; Andre Grabar, Les cycles d'images byzantins tirés de l'histoire biblique et leur symbolisme princier. *SAN, Starinar,* v. 20, Melanges Đurđe Bošković, 1969, 133-7). Closely related to the Root of Jesse is the genealogical tree of the Nemanjid dynasty, the so-called "Vine of the Nemanjić". In the fourteenth century its representations became an integral part of most fresco cycles in Serbia, at times being juxtaposed to the Root of Jesse on adjacent wall areas (see Mirjana Ćorović-Ljubinković, Uz problem ikonografije srpskih svetitelja Simeona i Save. *SAN, Starinar,* v. 7-8, 1956-7, 79; Vojislav J. Djurić, L'art des Paléologues et l'État serbe. Rôle de la Cour et de l'Église serbes dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle. *Art et Société*

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„ Byzance sous les Paléologues. Actes du colloque org.par l'assoc. internat.d'Études byzant. Venise en Sept. 1968, 1971, 187; Idem, *Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji,* (1974, 57 and figs. 57, 58).

53) Baptized in his infant years by a Roman Catholic priest in Dioclea, Nemanja later received a second baptism by the Orthodox bishop of Ras (Hafner ed., Sava, Das Leben Simeons, 1962, 60; Idem ed., Stefan der Erstgekrönte, Das Leben des Hl. Simeon Nemanja, 1962, 75-6). Also, recognizing the destructive tendencies of Bogomilism not only for the official church but also for the political and social order of the state, Nemanja relentlessly persecuted the Bogomils in the name of Orthodoxy with fire and sword and once and for all eradicated the sect on Serbian territory (Ibid., 83-6). For the history of Bogomilism on the Balkan peninsula see Dimitri Obolensky, *The Bogomils. A study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (1948); Idem, *Commonwealth* (1971), 121-7, 215, 241.

54) Đorđe Radojičić, Zašto je Studenica posvečena sv. Bogorodici Blagodetelnici (Evergetidi)? *Bogoslovlje,* v. 11 (1937), 294-300; Obolensky, *Commonwealth* (1971), 301.

55) Stephen writes in the Vita of his father that, while building his church in Studenica, Nemanja sent presents to various churches both in the Orthodox East and the Latin West, mentioning also the churches of the Apostles Peter and Paul in Rome (Hafner ed., Stefan, Das Leben des Hl. Simeon Nemanja, 1962, 90). Furthermore, in his letter to Pope Innocent III (partially cited under n. 15) Stephen presents Nemanja as a guarantor for his allegiance for the Roman Church ("Nos autem semper consideramus in vestigia sancte Romane ecclesie, sicut bone memorie pater meus").

56) Čirković (Pravoslavna crkva, 1969, 41) cites Sava's good relations with Constantine Mesopotamites, the Archbishop of Salonica, and especially with the Salonican monastery Philokale.

57) Latin Christianity already existed in the coastal areas of the Serbian state of Nemanja before the missionary activity of Constantine and Methodius in the ninth century. Its strong influence upon the Raškan territory, which at that time belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Dalmatia, is evidenced by a Latin

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inscription found in the ruins of a church near Prijepolje (Jireček, *Geschichte,* 1911, 179, n. 1, and pp. 173-4).
The rulers of Dioclea, never sympathizing with the Byzantine sphere, supported the Latin church, upheld strong political ties with Italy, and in 1077 became papal vassals. An archbishopric established in Antivari or Bar dates from that period (Ibid., 217).

58) Obolensky, *Commonwealth* (1971), 1-3.
59) Franz Dölger, Die mittelalterliche Kultur auf dem Balkan als byzantinisches Erbe. *Revue internationale des Études balkaniques,* v. 2 (1935), 109.
60) Ibid.; Svetozar Radojčić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo* (1966), 27.
61) Described by Eustathius, Metropolitan of Salonica (Kalić et al eds., Vizantijski izvori, 1971, 220 and n. 19).
62) This notion was most clearly expressed in the eleventh century by the Metropolitan Ilarion of Kiev in his "Sermon on Law and Grace" (L.Müller ed., *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir,* 1962).
63) Obolensky, *Commonwealth* (1971), 250-6; Djurić, L'art des Paléologues (1971), 180-1; Ostrogorsky, *History* (1969), 490.
64) N. Radojčić, Sveti Sava (1935), 36.
65) Obolensky, *Commonwealth* (1971), p. 317.
66) From a letter of Demetrios Chomatianos (see Jireček, *Geschichte*, 1911, 284, n. 1).
67) Đ. Radojičić, The Slavic response (1963), 435.
68) Obolensky, *Commonwealth* (1971), 308-14.
69) "He [i.e. Sava] himself, having received the blessings of the Lord and His purest Mother, became an archimandrite already on the Holy Mountain, and...was named archimandrite hegumen of the monastery of the Holy Virgin of Studenica. For God indeed designated that archimandry from which this God-lover founded the great Archbishopric, the house of the Saviour, called Žiča, which he began [to build] and completed together with his opportune brother, the Grand Župan Lord Stephen" (Domentijan, 102).

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"And thus the Saint [Sava] was initiated as hegumen of the great monastery called Studenica" (94); "At that time he also began to build the great church of the Lord's Ascension, in Žiča, called the Archbishopric. Many other churches, large and small, were built by the Saint during the time he stayed as archimandrite in Studenica"... (Theodosije, 97).

70) Relja Novaković, O godini prenosa Nemanjinih moštiju iz Hilandara u Studenicu. *HZ,* v. 1 (1966), 113; Barišić, Hronološki problemi (1971), 51.

71) Svetislav Mandić, Otkrivanje i konzervacija fresaka u Studenici. *Republ. Zavod za zašt.spom.kult., Saopštenja,* v. 1 (1956), 39.

72) Đorđe Trifunović, Glagol rabotati u studeničkom natpisu iz 1209 godine. *Zograf* v. 2, Galerija fresaka, Beograd (1967), 6; Milan Kašanin, Vojislav Korać, and Dušan Tasić, *Studenica* (1968), 84.

73) Dušan Tasić, Kulturno-istorijski spomenici: Manastir Žiča, 141 (In: Mihailo Maletić ed., *Kraljevo i okolina,*1966); Milan Kašanin, Manastir Žiča (In: *Žiča*, Istorija, arhitektura, slikarstvo, 1969, 5).

74) "Once he [Sava] came with the ruler [Stephen] to inspect the progress the construction of the Archbishopric was making, for he had brought with him many masons and skillful marble workers from the Greek land. Spending his time with them, he instructed them to decorate everything to his will"... (Theodosije, 98).

75) Quotations see p. 23.

76) Đurđe Bošković, Arhitektura (In: *Žiča*, Istorija, arhitektura, slikarstvo, 1969, 60-7.

77) It was Nemanja's hunting ground (Hafner ed., Sava, Das Leben Simeons, 1962, 35).

78) See photographs made during the cleaning and restoration work in 1925 in Bošković, Arhitektura. *Žiča* (1969), 71, 79.

79) The original portal (see ibid., 70, 73) was removed in 1938.

80) Miloje M. Vasić, *Žiča i Lazarica* (1928), 42; Pavle Mijović, Slikarstvo (In: *Žiča,* Istorija, arhitektura, slikarstvo, 1969, 169-70).

81) Kašanin et al., *Studenica* (1968), 6; Idem, Manastir Žiča. *Žiča* (1969), 6.

82) Vojislav J. Djurić, Sopoćani. *USJ* (1963), 28-9.

83) Svetozar Radojčić, Mileševa. *USJ* (1963), 10.

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84) Kašanin, Manastir Žiča. *Žiča* (1969), 8.
85) Domentijan, 122.
86) Theodosije, 139.
87) Ibid., 141.
88) Ibid.
89) Ibid., 143.
90) Anastasijević, Je li sveti Sava (1935), 312.
91) Victor N. Lazarev, *Old Russian murals and mosaics* (1966), 217, n. 139.
92) A miniaturized facsimile of the inscription is shown in Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* (1969), 184-5.
93) In the third line of the text on the north wall it says: "...ikonami svetyh i čestnyh obraz"...
94) The first to literally record the text was Dimitri Davidović, Secretary of the Prince of Serbia. He visited the decaying monastery in 1822. His notation was afterwards published in regular church-slavonic script (G. Magarašević ed., *Serbske letopisi*, 1828, pt. 2, 15-22. *Matica srbska,* Buda), but it contained numerous errors in the spelling of originally abbreviated or contracted words. Improved editions were subsequently given by Pavel Josef Šafařík (*Památky dřevniho písemnictví jihoslovanuv. Listiny, psaní a nápisy,* 1851 and 1870, 6-10), Fr. Miklosich (*Monumenta,* 1858, 11-6), and others (see Dušan Sindik, Jedna ili dve žičke povelje? *Istorijski časopis,* v. 14-15, 1963-5, 309-15).
95) P.J. Šafařík, for instance, wrote: "Die Inschrift enthält die Stiftungsurkunde des Kl[osters] Shitscha vom König Stephan I. und einen etwas späteren Schenkungsbrief desselben Königs"... (Übersicht der vorzüglichsten schriftlichen Denkmäler älterer Zeiten bey den Serben und anderen Südslawen. *Jahrbücher der Literatur,* v. 53, 1831, *Anzeige-Blatt für Wissenschaft und Kunst,*4).
96) For the discussion of these dates see Sindik, Jedna ili dve (1963-65), 314-15.
97) Ibid., 315; Gojko Subotić, Žiča. *Enciklopedija likovnih umetnost,* v. 4 (1966), 656.

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98) Šafařík, *Památky* (1870), 10.

99) Subotić, *Žiča* (1960), 4; Idem, *Žiča* (1966), 656; Kašanin, Manastir Žiča. *Žiča* (1969), 36; Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* (1969), 197.

100) S.M. Nenadović, Restauratorski radovi na Žiči za poslednjih sto godina. *Republ.Zavod za zašt.spom.kult., Saopštenja,* v. 1 (1956), 37.

101) Jireček, *Geschichte* (1911), 335-6.

102) There is no consensus as to the initiator of the restoration work. It was carried out either under Archbishop Jevstatije II in the years 1292-1309 (Kašanin, Manastir Žiča. *Žiča,* 1969, 26; Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča,* 1969, 168), or under Archbishop Sava III between 1309 and 1316 (Vladimir R. Petković, Žiča III, *SAN, Starinar,* ser. 2, v. 2:2, 1908, 123; S.Radojčić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo,* 1966, 90, 96).

103) Nenadović, Restauratorski radovi (1956), 37.

104) Vladimir R. Petković, Žiča I, II. *SAN, Starinar,* ser. 2, v. 1:2 (1907), 141-187; Žiča III. *SAN, Starinar,* ser. 2, v. 2:2 (1908), 115-148; Žiča IV. *SAN, Starinar,* ser. 2, v. 4:1 (1909), 27-106; *Manastir Žiča, Historija* (1911); *Spasova crkva u Žiči, Arhitektura i Živopis* (1911), 105 p.

105) Idem, *Spasova crkva* (1911), 101.

106) Richard Hamann-Mac Lean and Horst Hallensleben, Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert. *Osteuropastudien d.Hochsch. d.Land. Hessen, Marburger Abhandl.z.Gesch.u. Kult.Osteuropas,* Bd. 3, Bildband (1963), 19, 31; Vojislav J. Djurić, La peinture murale serbe au XIIIe siècle. *Symposium 1965,* 148, 154, 162, 163; S.Radojčić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo* (1966), 38-9; Victor N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (1967), 296-7; S.Radojčić, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst* (1969), 32; Djurić, *Vizantijske freske* (1974), 33-4, 192-3.

107) Gojko Subotić, Žiča. *Turistički Savez Srbije, Historical Monuments* No.3 (1960), 16 p.; Dušan Tasić, Crkvena arhitektura i freskoslikarstvo. (In: Mihailo Maletić ed., *Srbija, znamenitosti i lepote*, 1965, 203-5); Idem, Manastir Žiča. *Kult.-istor.spomenici* (1966), 146-51; Idem, Vizantijsko slikarstvo Srbije i Makedonije. *Mala istorija umetnosti* (1967), pp. x-xi.

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108) Kašanin, Bošković and Mijović, *Žiča*: Istorija, Arhitektura, Slikarstvo (1969), 225 p., with English and French summaries of each chapter.

109) For the iconographic development of the theme see Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile,* 1960 (Orig. publ. 1916), 396-460; Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst,* v. 2: Die Passion Jesu Christi (1968), 98-176; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, v. 2: Iconographie de la Bible, II: Nouveau Testament (1957), 475-503; Klaus Wessel, *Die Kreuzigung* (1966), 96 p.

110) According to Cyril Mango and Ernest J.W. Hawkins (The hermitage of St Neophytos and its wall paintings. *DOP,* v. 20, 1966, 177, 184), stripes of various shades of brown may also symbolize the three kinds of wood from which the cross had allegedly been made.

111) Wessel (*Kreuzigung*, 1966, pp. 61-2) rightly criticizes the frequent tendency of confusing the Centurion with Longinus and cites examples where both figures, identified by their familiar attributes, appear in the scene. See also the Crucifixion scene in St Mark's, Venice (Otto Demus, *Byzantine mosaic decoration,* 1948, pl. 53), and several Cappadocian examples (Marcell Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, v. 2, 1967, pls. 31, 183, 209).

112) In both scenes the space between the lower line of the blue background and the bottom edge of the panel is occupied by the wall tier, equaling in both cases a height of about 50 centimeters.

113) Petković, Žiča, IV (1909), 50: "Pred Marijom stoji zapis, koji se sada skoro sasvim iščileo i može se raspoznati samo sa najvećim naprezanjem oka: *se mati tvoia,* a pored Jovana je, pouzdano, stajao zapis: *se syn' tvoi*, nu on je danas potpuno iščezao".

114) Idem, Spasova crkva (1911), 46: "Pred Marijom su zapisane reči *se mati tvoia"*,...etc.

115) Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* (1969), 108.

116) Ibid., drawing on 106.

117) Mijović bases his interpretation on the assumption that "all sigla for the saints and scenes were, just as the first time in Studenica,

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written in the native language" (Ibid., 108). This may be true to some extent, although the evidence regarding the scenic representations rests on weak feet. All there remains of the early thirteenth-century cycles with more or less legible labels both in Studenica and Žiča are essentially the two Crucifixion scenes. It may have escaped M. that the Virgin in the Crucifixion in Studenica is labeled with the traditional Greek sigla МР ΘΥ. Likewise, in the present naos of Žiča itself the Virgin orans in the lunette over the door leading from the old narthex into the exonarthex also displayed Greek sigla (see Petković, Žiča, IV, 1909, 40. The image was destroyed during World War I). If I am not mistaken, Slavic sigla for the Virgin appear in Serbian monumental painting for the first time in the Deesis of the apse in the church of the Holy Apostles in Peć (about 1250), written МАН БЖМ. Nevertheless, Greek labeling for the Virgin prevailed long afterwards. Even in that same church in Peć the Virgin in the Ascension scene in the dome is labeled Greek.

Furthermore, the spelling as suggested by M. in his drawing (see n. 123) is definitely alien to Slavic usage. The omission of the vowel "О" in the words БОГЪ.БОЖМ (i.e. God, godly) was a standard custom in the entire Slavic world. Still in the fourteenth century the word "godly" in the Virgin's sigla in the King's Church in Studenica, where they occur once or twice written in Slavic letters besides the customary Greek form, are invariably spelled without the vowel "О": МТИ БЖНМ.

118) Millet, *Recherches* (1960), 425.

119) Schiller, *Ikonographie* (1968), 94.

120) The Crucifixion scene in the Theodotus chapel of the church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome is reduced to the three-figure scheme, but the two figures of Longinus and Stephaton are also present (see Schiller, *Ikonographie,* 1968, pl. 328).

121) Millet, *Recherches* (1960), 426-7.

122) Ibid., 396-400.

123) Single instances of a very early argumentation and even representation in this direction, dating from the seventh century,

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have been reported by Hans Belting and Christa Ihm (see Schiller, *Ikonographie,* 1968, 96 and n. 18).

124) I cannot quite agree with Millet regarding the curved design of Christ's body (*Recherches,* 407-10). Considering a time span of slightly more than a century - i.e. end eleventh until early thirteenth century - he clearly recognizes an evolution, for instance, from Daphni (fig. 33) to Studenica (fig. 45), yet he calls the difference observed "minime, presque insensible au premier regard" (409). But in the thirteenth century "un réel progrès s'accuse en peu d'années, à Žiča et..." (more later examples follow, 409-10). In other words, the real curving of the body sets in with Žiča and not before, according to Millet. This is hardly acceptable in view of Kurbinovo (fig. 38), Aquileia (fig. 44), the Armenian miniature (fig. 37), or even the Munich enamel (fig. 42) that also is attributed by Millet to the group of works showing "différence minime" when compared with Daphni.

125) Kurt Weitzmann, Manolis Chatzidakis, Krsto Miatev, and Svetozar Radojčić, *A treasury of icons,* sixth to seventeenth centuries, from the Sinai peninsula, Greece, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia (1967), pl. 6.

126) According to Weitzmann (*Die Ikone,* 1978, 70) and Wessel (*Kreuzigung*, 1966, 65), the vessel catching Christ's blood is a rare motif in Byzantine art that has been known in the West since Carolingian times. Iconography and possible origins of Ecclesia and Synagogue are discussed by Wessel (ibid., 66-8) and Anastasios K. Orlandos (He architektonike kai hai byzantinai toichographiai tes mones tou Theologou Patmou, with abridged French text. Akademia Athenon, *Pragmateiai*, v. 28, 1970, 215 and n. 4, 362-3).

127) see Henry Maguire, The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine art. *DOP,* v. 31 (1977), 142-4.

128) Schiller, *Ikonographie* (1968), pl. 328.

129) Maguire, Sorrow (1977), 142-4 and pl. 38.

130) Ibid., 156-8.

131) Millet, *Recherches* (1960), 404.

132) Ibid., 416-7.

133) Ibid., 420.

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134) Victor N. Lazarev, Zhivopis' XI-XII vekov v Makedonii. *Actes du XIIe Congrès internat. d'Études byzantines* I (1963), 132, n. 111.

135) Orlandos, He architektonike (1970), pp. 364-6.

136) Ibid., 366: "...c'est l'oeuvre originale d'un grand peintre créateur qui a hardiment representé le drame de l'évanouissement. Ce mouvement de la Vierge est, comme a déjà remarqué Millet, semblable à celui du peintre de 'S.Francisco', Fra Guglielmo, et de Cimabue, que nous rencontrons un peu plus tôt, de sorte qu'il n'est pas improbable que l'artist byzantin ait emprunté à ces contemporains italiens ce thème..."

137) G. Sotiriou, *Icônes du Mont Sinai* (1956), pl. 194.

138) Kurt Weitzmann, Thirteenth-century Crusader icons on Mount Sinai. *Art Bulletin,* v. 45 (1963), No. 3, 203.

139) Weitzmann et al., *A treasury of icons* (1967), pl.6; Wessel, *Kreuzigung* (1966), 36.

140) Maguire, Sorrow (1977), 145 and n. 115.

141) Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of despair in Medieval and Renaissance art* (1976), 98.

142) Ibid., 152 and n. 11; Weitzmann, *Die Ikone* (1978), 114.

143) Angels in flight and with their hands veiled appear in Koimesis scenes already from the tenth century onward, but without acquiring an attitude of mourning by lifting their hands to the face whereas the apostles participating in the scene display various gestures of grief, see the tenth-century ivory in Munich (Maguire, Sorrow, 1977, pl. 32), the mosaic in Daphni (Ernst Diez and Otto Demus, *Byzantine mosaics in Greece,* 1931, pl. 108), or the fresco in the Mavriotissa (Nik. Moutsopoulos, *Kastoria, Panagia e Mavriotissa,* 1967, pl. 72).

144) Lazarev, *Old Russian murals* (1966), fig. 103.

145) Petković (Žiča, IV, 1909) was certainly wrong in not having recognized at least one of the two flying angels in Žiča covering his face with his mantle in a gesture of grief. Mentioning the extremely poor condition of these angels, he instead ascribed to them, "based on analogies", the iconography of the earlier type as seen in the right angel in Studenica (fig. 45). He writes (51): "...they were very slightly inclined in a direction away from Christ to whom they turn

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their head; one of their hands is held before the breast in a gesture of prayer, the other is lowered and stretched out". Petković borrowed this description literally from Millet (*Le monastère de Daphni,* 1899,151, n. 2), who had assumed such an iconography for the destroyed angels in the Crucifixion scene of Daphni.

146) Wessel, *Kreuzigung* (1966), 50.

147) As Maguire (Sorrow, 1977, 140-5) points out, these gestures belong to an iconographic stock of longstanding tradition, used already in antiquity to express meditative sorrow. In a Crucifixion icon of the ninth century (Sotiriou, *Icônes,* 1956, pl. 26) it is the Virgin who places her hand under the chin.

148) Adolf Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts,* v. 2 (1934), nos. 155a, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 160, 169.

149) In the two exceptions found John does not carry the book. These cases will be examined after a discussion of Western examples.

150) Included in the Byzantine group are 17 works of Syrian, Cappadocian, Armenian, and Palestinian origin. Since they indicate Byzantine influences at various degrees, it was not feasible to separate them into a special group.

151) Andreas and Judith Stylianou, *The painted churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine art* (1985), 364-5.

152) Schiller, *Ikonographie* (1968), 64.

153) Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byz.Elfenbeinskulpt.* (1934), 18.

154) These are seen by A. Hadjinicolaou (Byzantine art an European art. *Catalogue of the 9th Exhibition of the Council of Europe,* Athens, 1964, 195) in "a certain mannered quality in the attitudes of the figures and the drapery, an indifference to the scale of the figures and some palaeographic irregularities"...

155) Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XII, XIII, et XIV siècles de la bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitharistes en Venice* (1937), 81-83.

156) Appearing still in some eighth and ninth-century representations such as the fresco in Santa Maria Antiqua or a Sinai icon of that period, the Greek inscription "King of the Jews" has in Byzantine

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scenes subsequently been completely supplanted by the inscription "King of Glory" (Basileus tes doxes), or simply by Christ's sigla.

157) The same inscription occurs in a Syrian miniature of the tenth or eleventh century (no. 41 in the list) and a Coptic miniature of ca. 1180 (fig. 81).

158) The dates suggested for the paintings in this church are controversial, ranging from the first half of the twelfth century to the first half of the thirteenth. The problem will be further considered in connection with questions of style.

159) Schiller, *Ikonographie* (1968), pl. 368.

160) Adolf Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, VIII.-XI. Jahrhundert,* v. 1 (1918), pl. 73, no. 161e.

161) The sole exception is the enamel plate in Munich (fig. 42). The inscription appears here in combination with features like sun and moon above the cross or the Gospel book in John's hand that in the twelfth century may rightfully be called archaisms.

162) This strongly supports Weitzmann's remark made much earlier regarding the sources of what he called the Late Byzantine Renaissance: "...the stylistic revival goes hand in hand with the reappearance of older iconographic types"... (Kurt Weitzmann, Constantinopolitan book illumination in the period of the Latin conquest. In: *Studies in classical and Byzantine manuscript illumination,* 1971, 333. Orig. publ. 1944).

163) Kurt Weitzmann, Eine Pariser-Psalter-Kopie des 13. Jahrhunderts auf dem Sinai. *JÖBG,* v. 6 (1957), 142; Idem, The origin of the Threnos. *De Artibus Opuscula XL. Essays in honor of E. Panofsky* (1961), 484, 490. See also Tania Velmans, Les valeurs affectives dans la peinture murale byzantine au XIII siècle et la manière de les representer. Symposium 1965, 50.

164) Otto Demus (Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei. *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress,* 1958, 58) does not know of any single Early or High Palaeologan fresco or mosaic cycle that could even in its modified form be called a copy of a miniature model. The artists of the Early Palaeologan

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period have, in his view, been much less copyists than Byzantine painters of any other age.

165) Mijović (Slikarstvo. *Žiča* 1969, 108) bases his attribution of John's book to Western influences on a superficial, not to say erroneous, argumentation: "Occasionally seen in this scene [of the Crucifixion] in later Byzantine painting, this superfluous attribute of the Evangelist does indeed not occur anywhere in purely Orthodox Crucifixions such as for example in Sinai icons, whereas we find it already from the eighth century onward in mosaics, frescoes, icons and reliquaries of Western art". Are Constantinopolitan ivories and miniatures, or Cappadocian wall paintings, all dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries, less Orthodox than Sinai icons? The author then goes on explaining the appearance of Western features in Byzantine iconography of the thirteenth century as a result of the establishment of the Latin empire in 1204, which in itself is plausible, but also simplifying a complicated process begun already in the preceding century. Furthermore, there is no mention of the other, equally "superfluous" element - the gesture of John's right hand.

166) See Weitzmann, Threnos (1961), 487; Maguire, Sorrow (1977), 158-160.

167) The deterioration of this figure is best demonstrated by the fact that Petković initially interpreted it as a male figure (see Žiča, 1906, 169). In his later publications (Žiča, IV, 1909, 52; *Spasova crkva,* 1911, 47) he merely states that the gender of the third figure is undefinable because of heavy damage. There can be no doubt that this figure represents one of the holy Women. Haloes in Crucifixion and Deposition scenes are, besides Christ, only given to the Virgin, John, the Women, the Centurion, and in very rare cases to Joseph of Arimathaea. Iconographically neither the Virgin nor John would ever be placed behind the Women. Besides, the outlines of the headdress are still recognizable.

168) Millet, *Recherches* (1960), 467-88; Schiller, *Ikonographie* (1968), 177-85; Réau, *Iconographie* (1957) 513-7; Erna Rampendahl,

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Die Ikonographie der Kreuzabnahme vom 9.-16. Jahrhundert. Inaugural-Dissertation (1916).

169) Millet (*Recherches,* 1960, 398-9, 461-2, 467, 470-1) cites the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus and sermons of a George of Nicomedia as the literary sources of inspiration for the artists of the ninth century. The passages cited from these works elaborate upon the Virgin's grief and her desire to assist Joseph and Nicodemus in the removal of her dead son from the cross, and to accept him in her hands.

170) See the gestures of the Apostles in the Koimesis scenes, for example in the ivory in the Munich Staatsbibliothek (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byz. Elfenbeinskulpt.*, 1934, pl. 1).

171) It is not Nicodemus (as erroneously mentioned by Petković, *Spasova crkva*, 1911, 47, and Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* 1969, 108), but rather Joseph of Arimathaea whom all four Gospel accounts explicitly mention as the person who took Christ's body off the cross. The foot can therefore neither be that of Nicodemus (so Petković) nor, for reasons of iconographic tradition and human anatomy, that of the dead Christ (so Mijović).

172) Millet, *Recherches* (1960), 423.

173) Ibid., 434.

174) Mijović (Slikarstvo. *Žiča,* 1969, 108) correctly identifies the two figures in the fragment as the Virgin and John. He visualizes the latter as still carrying the Gospel book just as in the Crucifixion. Although it is futile to guess in this case, the book somehow appears to me not very likely to have been present here. In the former scene John acted as a witness whereas in the Deposition he is about to lead the Virgin away, and thus functions in a different role. Even in one of the earliest Deposition scenes, the Paris Gregory representation (fig. 48), John is shown without book.

175) Weitzmann, Threnos (1961), 483.

176) Ibid., 486.

177) Millet, *Recherches* (1960), 423-6.

178) Schiller, *Ikonographie* (1968), pl. 327.

179) Ibid., pl. 331.

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180) The numbers following the monuments for which no illustration figure is given refer to those mentioned in the list in the Appendix.

181) Weitzmann et al., *A treasury of icons* (1967), pl. 76.

182) Ibid., pl. 91.

183) Schiller, *Ikonographie* (1968), pl. 348.

184) Ibid., pl. 511.

185) Ibid., among numerous examples see Giotto, Padua, ca. 1305: Crucifixion (pl. 508) and Lamentation (pl. 600); Barna di Siena, San Gimignano, 1350-5: Crucifixion (pl. 509); Simone Martini, Part of an altar, Antwerp, ca. 1340: Crucifixion (pl. 512) and Deposition (pl. 560); Cologne Master, Altarpiece, ca. 1330: Crucifixion (pl. 513); Master of S.Francesco and pupils, Perugia, ca. 1265-70: Lamentation (pl. 597); Tirol, Wilten Altar, Vienna, ca.1420: Crucifixion (pl. 519).

186) As examples can be named 1) a Coptic-Arabic Gospel book from 1249-50. Paris, Institut Catholique, copte-arabe 1, folios 19 r, 56 v, 57 r: Passion scenes. (In: Jules Leroy, Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés. *Inst.Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth,* v. 96, 1974, pls. 80, 81, 82.

2) a Syrian Lectionary, dated 1222. Jerusalem, Syrian Orthodox Convent of St Mark, Codex 28, fol. 129 (Crucifixion), fol. 151 (Ascension). (In: William Henry Paine Hatch, *Greek and Syrian miniatures in Jerusalem.* The Medieval Acad. of America, 1931, pls. 60, 69). In the scene of the Last Supper (fol. 116 v, pl. 65), even Judas Iscariot wears a nimbus. Equally unusual are the haloes on Adam and Eve in the Harrowing of the Hell (fol. 133 v, pl. 68).

187) Weitzmann, Threnos (1961), 490.

188) Ibid., 479.

189) Millet, *Recherches* (1960), 469.

190) Nenadović, Restauratorski radovi (1956), 35. In the early years of this century Petković (Žiča, IV, 1909, pp. 53-4) reported that of the four apostles located on the west wall merely the one farthest south was still intact, although not identifiable because of heavy damage of the head and the area surrounding it. The apostle wore a green mantle over a yellow tunic and held with both hands a scroll. The remaining three figures were extant only up to their knees, at least

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allowing to determine the colors of their garments, which from south to north included mantle-tunic combinations of purple-blue, blue-purple, and pink-blue respectively.

191) No evidence is there for insisting on Thomas as done by Petković (Žiča, IV, 1909, 53) and Mijović (Slikarstvo. *Žiča,* 1969, 110).

192) For a detailed survey see Klaus Wessel, *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst,* v. 1 (1966), 227-39; Hans Aurenhammer, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* v. 1 (1959-67), pp. 214-21.

193) Joseph Wilpert - Walter N. Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.-XIII. Jahrhundert* (1916-1976), pl.6.

194) Ibid., pls. 20-2.

195) Giuseppe Bovini, *Ravenna mosaics* (1956), pl. 6.

196) Wilpert-Schumacher, *Römische Mosaiken* (1916-76), pl. 100.

197) See Abraham and Lot in the Separation scene in Santa Maria Maggiore of the first half of the fifth century (Ibid., pl. L3b).

198) Friedrich Gerke, Die christlichen Sarkophage der vorkonstantinischen Zeit. *Studien z. spätantiken Kunstgeschichte* 11 (1940), 32, 257.

199) In the seventh-century icon at Mount Sinai (Weitzmann, *Die Ikone,* 1978, pl. 8) the front part of Peter's head is covered by a whirling tuft of hair. Rather rare instances of Peter wearing straight hair are found in the early twelfth-century Eucharist scene from the church of St Michael at Kiev (Lazarev, *Old Russian murals,* 1966, pl. 52), or in the Transfiguration scene in Kurbinovo of 1191 (Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo: Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle. *Bibliothèque de Byzantion* 6, 1975, pl. 66).

200) Petar Miljković-Pepek, *Nerezi* (1966), pl. 18.

201) Wessel, *Reallexikon,* v. 1 (1966), 235.

202) Schiller, *Ikonographie,* v. 3 (1971), pls. 615 and 616 respectively.

203) See the drawing in Guillaume de Jaerphanion, S.J., La voix des monuments. *Notes et études d'archéologie chrétienne* (1930), 194, fig. 52.

204) Pietro Toesca, *S Vitale di Ravenna, i mosaici* (1952), pls. 17, 18.

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205) Lead relief on ampulla no. 9, end sixth century, Monza, cathedral treasury. (In: Schiller, *Ikonographie,* v. 3, 1971, pl. 343).

206) Ibid., pl. 614.

207) Wilpert-Schumacher, *Römische Mosaiken* (1916-76), pls. 20-21.

208) See Matthew 10: 2-4, Mark 3: 16-19, Luke 6: 14-16. The addition of Paul and the two Evangelists Luke and Mark led to the elimination of Thaddeus (or Judas, son of James), James, son of Alpheus, and Matthias, who had been chosen by lot to take the place of Judas Iscariot (Acts 1: 23-26).

209) See Diez and Demus, *Byzantine mosaics* (1931), pls. 31-51.

210) Examples see in Wessel, *Reallexikon,* v. 1 (1966), 228-34.

211) See the Transfiguration scene in the Nea Moni, dated 1042-54 (Andre Grabar and Manolis Chatzidakis, *Byzantine mosaics: Greece,* 1959, pl. 20).

212) In the Ascension scene in Kurbinovo, 1191 (Antonie Nikolovski, *Les fresques de Kurbinovo,* 1961, pl. 14).

213) Peter and Paul flanking the Christ enthroned. Scene on the wall above the Seggio Reale in the Cappella Palatina, 1160s (Schiller, *Ikonographie,* v. 3, 1971, pl. 653); see also the seventh-century icon of St Peter on Mount Sinai (Weitzmann, *Die Ikone*, 1978, pl. 8).

214) Scroll and cross staff: Apse mosaic in Cefalù, 1146 (see fig. 110). Scroll and keys: North vault of the Martorana, 1143 (Otto Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily,* 1950, pl. 52 A), or in a thirteenth-century Deesis on an iconostasis beam at Mount Sinai (Lazarev, *Storia,* 1967, pl. 431).

215) In 1969 Branislav Živković reported his discovery of faint traces of a cross staff the presence of which in the painting had remained unnoticed in earlier investigations (see B. Živković, Remarque ultérieure d'un détail sur le portrait de l'Apôtre St Pierre à Sopoćani. *Inst.pour la protect.des monum. hist.d.la Repub.Soc.d. Serbie, Communications* VIII, 1969, 117-8.

216) See the medallion on a silver vase from Homs, Syria (David Talbot Rice, *The art of Byzantium,* 1959, pls. 44, 45).

217) Thomas Whittemore, The mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul: The mosaics of the narthex. *The Byzantine Institute* (1933), pl. 16.

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218) Doula Mouriki, *The mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios,* v. 2 (1985), pls. 2 and 4.

219) Grigorii N. Logvin, *Sofia Kievskaia* (1971), pls. 26, 236-242.

220) Ernst Kitzinger, *The mosaics of Monreale* (1960), figs. 17, 42.

221) Lazarev, *Storia* (1967), pl. 354.

222) Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (1950), pl. 63.

223) Paul A. Underwood, The evidence of restorations in the sanctuary mosaics of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea. *DOP,* v. 13 (1959), 235-42.

224) Detailed descriptions of imperial costume and insignia are given by Alfred R. Bellinger and Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection,* v. 2, pt. 1 (1968), 70-88; v. 3, pt. 1 (1973), 116-42; Michael F. Hendy, *Coinage and money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261.* Dumb.Oaks Center for Byz. Studies (1969), 65-8; Philip Grierson, *Byzantine coins* (1982), 30-32.

225) Guy Lacam, *Civilisation et monnaies byzantines* (1974), pl. 25.

226) Bellinger and Grierson, *Catalogue,* v. 2, pt. 1: Phocas and Heraclius (1968), 79.

227) Ibid.

228) Idem, *Catalogue,* v. 2, pt. 1: Heraclius Constantine to Theodosius III (1968), pl. 37, nos.7, 8, 10, 14.

229) Marfa V. Shchepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi Psaltyri* (1977), fol. 18 v.

230) Ibid., fol. 55 v.

231) Bellinger and Grierson, *Catalogue,* v. 3, pt. 1: Leo III to Michael III (1973), 120-1.

232) It appeared first on coins of Basil I (Hendy, *Coinage,* 1969, 66).

233) Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byz.Elfenbeinskulpt.*, v. 2 (1934-1979), pl. 14, no. 34. On recent discussions about the identity of the figures and the date of the ivory see ibid., "Vorwort zur 2. Auflage" by K. Weitzmann.

234) Thomas Whittemore, *The mosaics of Haghia Sophia at Istanbul: The imperial portraits of the south gallery* (1942), pls. 9, 13, 25, 29.

235) Christa Ihm, Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts.

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Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte u. christl.Archäologie, v. 4 (1960), 27.

236) Wilpert-Schumacher, *Röm. Mosaiken* (1916-76), pls. 54-5, 61-3.

237) Wolfgang F. Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst. Die Kunst der Spätantike in West- und Ostrom* (1958), pl. 152 (lower).

238) Ibid., pl. 173. A close-up image of Michael in Bovini, *Ravenna mosaics* (1956), pl. 46.

239) Bovini, *Ravenna mosaics* (1956), pl. 30.

240) The embroidered clavus on the divitision of Michael appears in this form already on the tunic of Constantius II in a silver dish of the late fourth century (see Alisa V. Bank, *Byzantine art in the collections of the USSR,* 1966, pl. 1).

241) Oskar Wulff (*Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst,* v. 2, 1914, figs. 525-6 and p. 611) and Goldschmidt/Weitzmann (*Byz.Elfenbeinskulpt.*, v. 2, 1934-79, nos. 88a-d) show a small ivory plaque believed to have been a top piece of an imperial scepter or processional staff. Below an inscription mentioning an Emperor Leo each side of the plaque depicts three half-length figures. One group represents the centrally placed Virgin crowning an emperor to her right while being flanked by the Archangel Gabriel at her left (fig. 125). The emperor and the angel are both clad in a loros. Wulff and Weitzmann assume the emperor to be Leo VI (886-912), since Leo V (813-20) was a strong advocator of Iconoclasm. The crude style differs in Weitzmann's opinion sharply from that of tenth-century works and betrays a provincial artist, although the crowning theme would associate the plaque with a metropolitan work shop.

242) Cyril Mango and Ernest J.W. Hawkins, The apse mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul. *DOP,* v. 19 (1965), 113-51, pl. 41.

243) Diez and Demus, *Byzantine mosaics* (1931), color plate VI.

244) On the evolution of imperial insignia see references above, n. 231.

245) Bellinger and Grierson, *Catalogue,* v. 2, pt. 1: Phocas and Heraclius (1968), 85.

246) Andre Grabar, L'empereur dans l'art byzantin. *Publ. de la faculté d.lettres d.l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 75* (1936), 13.

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247) D.I. Pallas, Himmelsmächte, Erzengel und Engel. (In: Wessel, *Reallexikon,* v. 3, 1978, 37).

248) Rice, *Art of Byzantium* (1959), pl. 48.

249) George H. Forsyth and Kurt Weitzmann, *The monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The church and fortress of Justinian* (1973), pls. 122B, 123B.

250) Mango and Hawkins, The apse mosaics (1965), pl. 45.

251) See description and schematic drawings in Bellinger and Grierson, *Catalogue,* v. 3, pt. 1: Leo III to Michael III (1973), 140-1.

252) In describing the Archangel Michael located on the bema arch in the parecclesion of the Kariye Camii, Paul A. Underwood (First preliminary report on the restoration of the frescoes in the Kariye Camii at Istanbul. *DOP,* v. 9-10, 1956, 253-88) seems surprised by the fact that the staff "disappears behind the nimbus, curiously enough, and emerges again near the top of the medallion" (280).

253) See the scenes of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi (Schiller, *Ikonographie,* v. 1, 1966, pls. 158, 268).

254) Diez and Demus, *Byzantine mosaics* (1931), pl. 83.

255) Djurić, *Vizantijske freske* (1974), pl. XII.

256) Weitzmann, *Die Ikone* (1978), pl. 27.

257) Djurić, *Vizantijske freske* (1974), pl. XX.

258) Weitzmann, *Die Ikone* (1978), pl. 6.

259) Bovini, *Ravenna mosaics* (1956), pl. 39.

260) Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* (1969), 110.

261) Millet, *Recherches* (1960), 540-53; Wessel, *Reallexikon,* v. 2 (1971), 371-83; Schiller, *Ikonographie,* v. 3 (1971), 91-8.

262) Millet, *Recherches* (1960), 542-4.

263) Schiller, *Ikonographie,* v. 3 (1971), pl. 7.

264) See the tenth-century ivory diptych in the cathedral treasury at Milan (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byz.Elfenbeinskulpt.*, v. 2, 1934, pl. 18, no. 42b), the mosaic in St Mark's at Venice around 1200 (Sergio Bettini, *I mosaici di San Marco a Venezia,* 1944, pl. 25), the frescoes in St Sophia at Kiev, 1043-46 (Logvin, *Sofia Kievskaia,* 1971, pl. 115), and in Sopoćani, ca. 1265 (Djurić, *Sopoćani*, 1963, pl. 22).

265) Schiller, *Ikonographie,* v. 3 (1971), pls. 276-94.

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266) Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (1950), pl. 72.
267) Schiller, *Ikonographie,* v. 3 (1971), pl. 286.
268) Schiller (ibid., 96) notes that only in a few richly illustrated Byzantine manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries one may find the *Noli me Tangere* motif as a separate scene (she mentions two instances).
269) Hamann-MacLean and Hallensleben, Die Monumentalmalerei (1963), pl. 280.
270) Vladimir R. Petković, *La peinture serbe du Moyen-Age,* v. 2 (1934), pl. 78.
271) In Dečani, dating from before 1350 (V.R.Petković and Đ.Bošković, *Manastir Dečani,* 1941, pl. 216.
272) See above, p. 26.
273) See above, n. 102.
274) Subotić, *Žiča* (1960), 15; Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* (1969), 124-68; Djurić, *Vizantijske freske* (1974), 50, 202.
275) Petković, Spasova crkva (1911), 51.
276) Hamann-Maclean and Hallensleben, Die Monumentalmalerei (1963), description of plans No. 26a and b; Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* (1969), 137.
277) Djurić, *Vizantijske freske* (1974), 202.
278) See Radivoje Ljubinković (Die Apostelkirche im Patriarchat von Peć. *Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien,* 1964, pp.iii-iv), who places the execution of the dome paintings in Peć into the last years of Sava's office, that is around 1232-3.
279) Djurić, *Vizantijske freske* (1974), 37-8, 195-6, 202; Idem, La peinture. Symposium 1965, 162-3.
280) See diagram in Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* (1969), 134-5.
281) Petković, *Spasova crkva* (1911), 50.
282) Tasić, Manastir Žiča (1966), 154.
283) Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* (1969), 135.
284) Djurić, *Vizantijske freske* (1974), 202.
285) For the general development of the posticonoclastic cupola program see Demus, *Byzantine mosaic decoration* (1948), 17-22.
286) Wessel, *Reallexikon,* v. 1 (1966), 678.
287) Demus, *Byzantine mosaic decoration* (1948), pl. 6.

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288) M.N. Soboleva, Stenopis' Spaso-Preobrazhenskogo sobora Mirozhskogo monastyria v Pskove. (In: *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo,* Khudozhestvennaia kul'tura Pskova. Akad.nauk SSSR, 1968, 10-2, 48).

289) Victor N. Lazarev, *Freski Staroi Ladogi* (1960), pl. 17.

290) Gosudarstvennyi Russkii Muzei, *Freski Spasa-Nereditsy* (1925), pls. III-XIV.

291) Demus, *Byzantine mosaic decoration* (1948), 20.

292) Radojčić, *Mileševa* (1963), 16-7; Djurić, *Vizantijske freske* (1974), 35. Both authors draw attention to a supposedly rare scene on the east tympanum below the dome which they call the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles before His Ascension (Radojčić), or Christ Blessing the Apostles before His Ascension (Djurić). Judging by the iconography of the identifiable parts of the fragmentary scene, it represents in my opinion the Mission of the Apostles, a scene that in posticonoclastic cycles is closely connected with the Ascension (see the vault paintings in Çavuşin, Cappadocia, of 963-9. Restle, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei,* v. 3, 1967, pl. 319).

293) In Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* (1969), 161.

294) Mentioning, for instance, a Eucharist scene among paintings lost in the altar space, Petković (*Spasova crkva*, 1911, 50) thinks that it must have occupied the area above the Church Fathers in the apse whereas Mijović (Slikarstvo. *Žiča*, 1969, 128) gives it a place somewhere on the bema arch. Kašanin (Manastir Žiča. *Žiča,* 1969, 29) supposes that the scene was omitted altogether because the space above the Church Fathers was filled, as he believes, by an orant Virgin.

295) See the ground plans in Diez and Demus, *Byzantine mosaics* (1931), following p. 117.

296) Mijović, Slikarstvo. *Žiča* (1969), 114-8.

297) See Hafner ed., Stefan, Das Leben des Hl. Simeon Nemanja (1962), 101-103; Mirković ed., Domentijan, Život svetoga Simeona (1938), pp. 275-7.

298) Miklosich, *Monumenta* (1858), 11.

299) Gabriel Millet - A. Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie,* v. 1 (1954), pl. 75,1; v. 2 (1957), pls. 32-1, 33-1,2,3.

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300) In the south transept wing, in the upper left part of the east half of the vault Nikolai Okunev (Mileshevo. Pamiatnik serbskago iskusstva XIII veka. *Byzantinoslavica*, v. 7, 1937-8, 85, 96) distinguished on the fragmentary original painting ground the left end of the transverse bar of a cross, above it the disk of the sun, and below a portion of the back of an inclined figure. He conjectured the fragment to belong to a Crucifixion scene. The opposite west wall displays three standing figures of apostles the row of which is continued in the north transept arm.

301) See also above, n. 117 passim.

302) Irina Andreescu, Torcello. La chronologie relative des mosaiques pariétales. *DOP*, v. 30 (1976), pl. 1.

303) David C. Winfield, The church of the Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera: First preliminary report, 1968. *DOP*, v. 23-4 (1967-70), pl. 8.

304) Demus, Byzantine mosaic decoration (1948), 9-10.

305) Kurt Weitzmann, Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century. (In: *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination,* 1971, 274-79. Orig. publ. 1967).

306) On certain aspects of these renascences see Otto Demus, The style of the Kariye Djami and its place in the development of Palaeologan art (written 1960). In: Paul A. Underwood ed., *The Kariye Djami*, v. 4: Studies in the art of the Kariye Djami and its intellectual background (1975), 156-7.

307) Ernst Kitzinger, The Byzantine contribution to Western art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. *DOP*, v. 20 (1966), 30.

308) In the opinion of Doula Mouriki, the strongly classical style of the statuesque, three-dimensional, organic figures of Daphni may well have been an "isolated phenomenon in the history of Byzantine monumental painting" (Stylistic trends in monumental painting of Greece during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. *DOP,* v. 34-5, 1980-1, 97).

309) Kitzinger, Byzantine contribution (1966), 30.

310) Otto Demus, *Byzantine art and the West* (1970), 131.

311) Examples in Mouriki, Stylistic trends (1980-1), 99-106.

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312) Imperial patronage of Nerezi is documented by an inscription carved into the marble lintel above the door which leads from the narthex into the naos. It names as patron a member of the imperial family - Alexios Comnenos, "son of the born-in-purple Theodora". The latter was identified as wife of Constantine Angelos and daughter of the Emperor Alexios I (George A. Ostrogorsky, Vozvyshenie roda Angelov. *Iubileinyi sbornik russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestva v korolevstve Iugoslavii*, 1936, 111-29).

313) According to Elka Bakalova (Freski tserkvi-grobnitsy Bachkovskogo monastyria i vizantiiskaia zhivopis' XII veka. In: Vizantiia, iuzhnye slaviane i drevniaia Rus', Zapadnaia Evropa. Iskusstvo i kul'tura. *Essays in honor of V.N. Lazarev.* Moscow 1973, 233, n. 27), the ratio of the size of the head to that of the entire figure increased in monumental painting during the eleventh and twelfth centuries as follows: Hosios Loukas (beginning of the eleventh century) - 1:6; Saint Sophia at Ochrid (the forties of the eleventh century) - 1:6.5, 1:7; Daphni (second half of the eleventh century) - 1:7; Saint Michael at Kiev (around 1108) - 1:8; Cefalù (1148) - 1:8, 1:8.5; Nerezi (1164) - 1:9, 1:10; Đurđevi Stupovi (around 1170) - 1:8, 1:9; Kurbinovo (1191) - 1:10, 1:10.5.

314) Lazarev, Zhivopis' (1963), 124.

315) Kitzinger *(Monreale*, 1960, 70-1) observes the same phenomenon in many figures at Monreale: "Most of their mantles and many of their tunics are basically white, though different hues . . . come into play in the 'valleys' of the folds."

316) Demus, *San Marco* (1984), v. 1, pt. 1: 182.

317) Kitzinger, Byzantine contribution (1966), 30.

318) Lazarev, Zhivopis' (1963), 124-5; Mouriki, Stylistic trends (1980-81), 107; Demus, *San Marco* (1984), 169, 185.

319) Richard Hamann-MacLean, Grundlegung zu einer Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien. *Osteuropastudien d.Hochschulen d.Landes Hessen, Reihe II: Marburger Abhandlungen z.Geschichte u.Kultur Osteuropas*, v. 4 (1976), 266-68.

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320) Ernst Kitzinger, Byzantium and the West in the second half of the twelfth century: Problems of stylistic relationships. *Gesta* 9,2 (1970), 52.

321) Ibid.

322) Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (1950), 419.

323) Ibid.

324) Kitzinger, *Monreale* (1960), 70-1.

325) Lazarev (Zhivopis', 1963, 125-34) and Demus (Rapport de V.N.Lazarev. *Actes du XIIe Congrès internat. d'études byzantines* v. I, Beograd 1963, 339-49; Idem, The style of the Kariye Djami, written 1960, 128-9; Idem, *San Marco*,1984, v. 1, pt. 1: 288) concern themselves in detail with problems of Macedonian painting.

326) Demus, *San Marco* (1984), v. 1, pt. 1: 182-217, with examples and further references.

327) Mouriki, Stylistic trends (1980-81), 114-6.

328) Vojislav J.Djurić, La peinture murale byzantine XIIe et XIIIe siècles. *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'Études byzantines,* Athens 1976. (Reprinted in: *Biblioteke tes en Athenais archeologikes hetaireias,* Nr.92, I, Art et Archéologie, *Rapports et Co-Rapports,* Athens 1979, 172-96).

329) Ibid., 174.

330) Ibid., 176.

331) Ibid., 176-84, with respective examples.

332) Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, La peinture monumentale tardo-comnène et ses prolongements au XIIIe siècle. *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'Études byzantines,* Athens 1976. (Reprinted in: *Biblioteke tes en Athenais archeologikes hetaireias,* Nr.92, I, Art et Archéologie, *Rapports et Co-Rapports,* Athens 1979, 257-61).

333) Ibid., 261-8.

334) Lazarev, *Freski staroi Ladogi* (1960), 86-7.

335) Ibid., 87, n. 1.

336) Lazarev, *Storia* (1967), 202.

337) Ibidem. Note: As regards the Deesis mosaic, Lazarev remained firm in his insistance on a date of the second quarter of the twelfth century until his death (*Freski staroi Ladogi*, 1960, 84-5; *Storia*,

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1967, 198 and 255, n. 57), while Demus, initially suggesting a somewhat later date within "the late Comnenian era" (*Mosaics of Norman Sicily,* 1950, 440, n. 80) or "possibly . . . already . . the thirteenth century" (ibid., 433), subsequently moved it into the period "between the late twelfth and early fourteenth century" (Zwei Konstantinopler Marienikonen des 13. Jahrhunderts. *JÖBG* VII, 1958, 96) or the early Paleaologan period (Entstehung, 1958, 16, 56-7), and finally into a time "immediately after 1261" (*San Marco,* 1984, v. 2, pt. 1, 273, n. 15).

338) While the dates of monuments dated on stylistic grounds may show a divergence of up to twenty years, there still are controversial cases where such divergences amount to fifty years or more. The frescoes in the monastery of the Virgin Kosmosoteira at the village of Pherrai in Thrace, for example, have by Mouriki been dated 1152, that is the year of the monastery's foundation by the sebastokrator Isaac Comnenos, youngest son of Alexios I (Stylistic trends, 1980-81, 103), and "probablement vers 1200" by Djurić (La peinture murale byzantine, 1979, 181). The two authors diverge even more in the dating of the paintings of the church of the Saviour in Chortiatis near Thessaloniki. Mouriki (Stylistic trends, 1980-81, 105) places them between Pherrai and Nerezi while Djurić (La peinture murale byzantine, 1979, 217) closely associates them with the art of Mileševa, around 1230!
Curiously, both authors base their dates in both cases on the fact of an absence of typical late Comnenian stylistic features, yet draw diametrically opposed conclusions: Mouriki sees in both monuments a certain conservatism rendering them "*pre*-late Comnenian" derivatives of the classical monumental style in the tradition of Daphni. For Djurić they represent various "*post*-late Comnenian" stages of the new monumental style of the thirteenth century.

339) Demus, *San Marco* (1984), v. 1, pt. 1, 183.

340) Kitzinger, Byzantine contribution (1966), 32.

341) Ibid., 31.

342) Ibid., 31; Lazarev, *Storia* (1967), 201; Mouriki, Stylistic trends (1980-81), 123; Demus, *San Marco* (1984), v. 1, pt. 1, 184.

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343) No documented dates exist for the construction of the church or its decoration. The first to investigate various historical sources and to arrive by way of fairly secure circumstantial evidences at a date of 1193-1197 for the erection of the building was Count S. G. Stroganov (*Dmitrievskii sobor vo Vladimire na Kliaz'me.* 1849, 4-5). Referring to Stroganov's findings, Igor' Grabar', the main initiator of the final restoration of the paintings in 1918, settled on a date of 1196-1197 for their execution (Freski Dmitrievskogo sobora vo Vladimire na Kliaz'me, 1920. In: Igor' E. Grabar', *O drevnerusskom iskusstve,* 1966, 56), which has generally been accepted.

344) Ibid., 49-50; N. P. Sychev, K istorii rospisi Dmitrievskogo sobora vo Vladimire. *Pamiatniki kul'tury*, v. 1 (1959), 143.

345) Unanimously agreeing, after the cleaning of the scene in 1918, on a collaboration of Byzantine and Russian artists, scholars initially debated the distribution of hands in respective parts of the scene (see Victor Lasareff, La méthode de collaboration des maîtres byzantins et russes. *Classica et mediaevalia*, v. 17, 1956, 83-8). Eventually Lazarev's version prevailed, according to which all twelve apostles and the angels on the right-hand side of the south vault were created by the Greek master while all other angels represent Russian work, as demonstrated by respective comparisons (Ibid., pls. 2 - 6; and Lazarev, *Old Russian murals*, 1966, pls. 63-4).

346) However, a Constantinopolitan origin of the Greek artist has been questioned by Sychev (K istorii rospisi . . *Pamiatniki kul'tury*, v. 1, 1959, 168-77), who brought forth various historical arguments in favor of a Macedonian provenance of the master, based on the known and longstanding cultural ties between medieval Russia and Salonica. In the light of the stylistic up-to-dateness of the paintings of Hosios David such possibility might not be completely ruled out, even notwithstanding the fact that Grand Prince Vsevolod III, the commissioner of the St. Demetrius frescoes, had for two years lived in Constantinople together with his mother, a Byzantine princess. Lazarev himself occasionally expressed the view that "much of that which in Russian monuments is

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traditionally associated with Constantinople in reality was imported to Russia from Salonica" (*Storia*, 1967, 207).

347) Demus, The style of the Kariye Djami (written 1960) 129.

348) Ibid.

349) See draperies of the prophets in the drum (Lazarev, *Freski staroi ` Ladogi*, 1960, pls. 40, 42, 44, 46).

350) The discrepancy between the dates suggested has its reason in Demus' and Kitzinger's (Byzantium and the West, *Gesta* 9,2, 1970, 51 and n. 11) disagreement with Lazarev's (*Freski staroi Ladogi*, 1960, 76-9, 89) early dating.

351) Hadermann-Misguich, La peinture monumentale (1979), 268.

352) Rudolf Naumann and Hans Belting, Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken. *Istanbuler Forschungen,* v. 25 (1966), 178-87.

353) The fragmentary figure of the deacon to the right of Euphemia and the traces of other figures to the left of the Pantokrator, appearing in Naumann's photographs, have been omitted here.

354) Ibid., 178-9.

355) Mouriki, Stylistic trends (1980-81), 119-23.

356) Ibid., 120.

357) Ibid., 121.

358) Ibid., 120-1.

359) Ibid., 121.

360) Djurić (La peinture murale, 1979, 172) places Hosios David together with Nerezi (1164) and some other monuments dating from about the 1170's into one group as representing what he calls "the classical period of the Comnenian style", when "only the best artists such as in Nerezi or Hosios David . . . arrived at almost 'impressionist' effects" and created "a specific harmony . . . between volume and line" (174).

361) Hadermann-Misguich, La peinture monumentale (1979), 283.

362) Mouriki (Stylistic trends, 1980-81, 122) basically chooses such a date because of "the stylistic features deriving from the older Comnenian tradition". She points out that the style of Hosios David "epitomizes some of the basic characteristics of the Nerezi tradition, the dynamic elements of a specific trend in late

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Comnenian painting, and a search for monumental effects, all combined with a revolutionary painterly technique".
Thus, Djurić and Mouriki both emphasize the links between Nerezi and Hosios David, but they arrive at strongly diverging dates by assigning the frescoes of Hosios David to the beginning or the end of the late Comnenian period, respectively.

363) Orlandos, He architektonike. *Pragmateiai,* v. 28 (1970), 381-8.

364) Mouriki, Stylistic trends (1980-81), 117.

365) In her analysis of late Comnenian monuments Lydie Hadermann-Misguich stresses the general phenomenon of a separate evolution of the faces as compared to that of the draperies. Speaking of some works in Patmos, she notes that "in the rendering of the faces, especially the young ones, he [the artist, P.J.] arrives at a smoothness and a roundness in modeling that foreshadows the best works of the XIIIth century. . . The contrast between the faces and the draperies is particularly evident in Patmos, but it comprises there a phenomenon that is quite general in paintings marking the transition to the new style of the XIIIth century: linearity last abandons the domain of the folds." (La peinture monumentale, 1979, 265).

366) Kurt Weitzmann, Byzantium and the West around the year 1200. In: *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (1975), 59-60.

367) Bakalova, Freski tserkvi-grobnitsy (1973), 230.

368) Jovan Nešković, Đurđevi Stupovi u Rasu. Raška Baština. *Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture,* Kraljevo 1975, 156.

369) Lazarev, *Storia* (1967), 222-3.

370) Demus, *Byzantine art and the West* (1970, but presented in 1966 as "The Wrightsman Lectures 1966"), 192-3.

371) Idem, *San Marco* (1984), v. 2, pt. 1, 11.

372) Idem, *San Marco* (1984), v. 2, pt. 1, 20.

373) Idem, *San Marco* (1984), v. 1, pt. 1, 183.

374) Idem, *San Marco* (1984), v. 2, pt. 1, 11.

375) Lazarev, *Storia* (1967), 275.

376) Mouriki, Stylistic trends (1980-81), 111-2.

377) While Mouriki (Stylistic trends, 1980-81, 114) mentions that the "life span of this 'elegant' style in late Comnenian painting

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approximately coincided with that of the 'dynamic' trend", Demus (*San Marco* ,1984, v. 1, pt. 1, 184) characterizes it as "an interlude between the dynamic and the monumental style".

378) Mouriki, Stylistic trends (1980-81), 114-5. According to Demus, the "Rococo was a purely and typically metropolitan creation and it has rightly been assumed that its diffusion or exportation depended on the chance of some Constantinopolitan painter being sent or called to some place in the provinces . . ." (*San Marco*, 1984, v. 1, pt. 1, 185).

379) Lazarev, *Storia* (1967), 202.

380) Demus, *San Marco* (1984), v. 1, pt. 1, 290.

381) The survival of late Comnenian stylistic features in the course of the thirteenth century has particularly been studied by Hadermann-Misguich (La peinture monumentale, 1979, 268 ff).

382) See Mouriki, Stylistic trends (1980-81), 118-9 and pls. 81-87.

383) No secure dates exist for the construction and decoration of the church. The majority of earlier scholars accepted as a *terminus post quem* the time around the year 1234, when Vladislav, the second son of King Stephen the First-Crowned, ascended the throne and -- according to Theodosije, 212 -- was blessed by Sava to start building his zadužbina, the church of Mileševa.
More recent studies of the paintings, particularly of the royal family members in the inner narthex stress the fact that King Stephen, identified by the inscription "King and Sebastokrator", is represented as a live ruler in royal dress, and not as a deceased person in monk's habit. The date of the paintings thus moves into a period before 1228, which is the year of Stephen's death.

Vladislav is shown as a young man. As has become apparent after the cleaning of the frescoes, his crown had been added later, also in his representation in the naos.
The last cleaning affected furthermore the image of a Byzantine emperor in the narthex, who had previously been wrongly identified as Alexius III Angelus, Stephen's father-in-law, who died in 1203. The unknown emperor turned out to have a surprisingly youthful face, which -- so thinks Djurić (see below) -- should rule out Theodore I Lascaris who died in 1222, after

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choosing his son-in-law -- young John III Vatatzes -- as successor.

Thus, the new time frame suggested for the Mileševa paintings after their last cleaning could be somewhere between 1222 and 1228. [See Vojislav J.Djurić, "Tri događaja u srpskoj državi XIV veka i njichov odjek u slikarstvu". *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* vol. 4. Beograd (1968), 82-3; Dragan Nagorni, "Bemerkungen zum Stil und zu den Meistern der Wandmalerei in der Klosterkirche Mileševa". *JÖBG, XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten II/5.* Vienna (1982), 159-60; Sreten Petković, "Nastanak Mileševe", with French summary. In: *Mileševa dans l'histoire du peuple serbe. Academie serbe des sciences et des arts, Colloques scientifiques vol. XXXVIII, Classe des sciences historiques* vol. 6. Beograd (1987), 1-8; Gordana Babić, "Vladislav na ktitorskom portretu u naosu Mileševe", with French summary. Ibidem, 9-16].

384) See Chapter II, 21-22 and references in notes 70-73.

385) See Djurić's comprehensive account about the research on the Studenica paintings: Djurić, Vojislav J., La plus ancienne peinture de Studenica à la lumière de l'istoriographie. In: *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200. Academie serbe des sciences et des arts, Colloques scientifiques* vol. XLI, *Classe des sciences historiques* vol. 11, Beograd (1988), 171-84.

386) On pp. 32-33 of her article "Les plus anciennes fresques de Studenica 1208/1209" (*Actes du XVe Congrès international d'Études byzantines,* Athens 1976. Reprinted in: *Biblioteke tes en Athenais archeologikes hetaireias,* Nr.92, II, Art et Archéologie, *Rapports et Co-Rapports,* Athens 1981, 31-42) Gordana Babić notes that earlier scholarship mistakenly called this scene in Studenica the Communion of the Apostles. The theme of Christ blessing the bread and wine, she states, occurs frequently in manuscripts between the ninth and eleventh century, yet has been completely replaced in Byzantine churches of the twelfth and thirteenth century by the Communion of the Apostles, displaying the two figures of Christ offering the bread and wine. Thus the iconography of one single figure of Christ standing behind the altar and blessing the bread and wine with both hands stretched

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out as seen in Studenica (fig. 162) appears, as Babić says, "strongly archaic . . . and remains without echo in Serbian monumental painting of the XIIIth century."

387) It is important to mention here the fact that my photographs of Balkanese monuments were made in 1975 and in the case of Žiča show some further deterioration of the frescoes since 1935, the *terminus ante quem* they were photographed by Gabriel Millet. Thus, Christ's feet shown in my photographs ## 11, 12, and 15 clearly differ from # 26 in that they show a distorted left foot.

388) Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byz.Elfenbeinskulpt.* (1934), 26.

389) Pages 62, 84, note 162.

390) Radomir Nikolić (Konzervatorski zapis o živopisu svetog Save u Bogorodičinoj crkvi manastira Studenice, II deo, In: *Republički zavod za zašt.spom.kult., Saopštenja* v. 19, 1987, 50-51) draws the attention to a curious, apparently Western motif in the earlier mentioned scene of the Proskomide or Consecration of the Bread and Wine in Studenica. Analyzing the central part of the scene with the figure of Christ (see fig. 162), he notes that the left hand of Christ, while blessing the wine, is visible through the chalice made of rock crystal. Equally transparent is the crystalline disc holding the bread blessed by Christ's right hand. Here it is the design of the textile covering the altar that shines through the base of the disc. Nikolić thinks that these crystalline sacramental vessels obviously appear to be Romanesque and of Venetian provenance. Hardly would they be found in paintings within Eastern-Orthodox areas. Since the Adriatic coast was under the influence of Venice, the use of crystalline vessels in Studenica may have been quite possible. And Nikolić concludes: "Do these items not prove that it is difficult to assume a Constantinopolitan origin of the artist in Studenica?"

391) See Chps. II (21-22) and III (27-29) about Sava's activities in both places.

392) Dušan Tasić, Kulturno-istorijski spomenici, 146. In: M.Maletić, ed. *Kraljevo i okolina*, Beograd (1966).

393) Milan Kašanin, Manastir Žiča. *Žiča* (1969), 10.

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394) Vojislav J. Djurić, La peinture murale serbe au XIIIe siècle, 150-1. In: L'art byzantin du XIIIe siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani 1965. *Faculté de philosophie. Département de l'histoire de l'art.* Beograd (1967).

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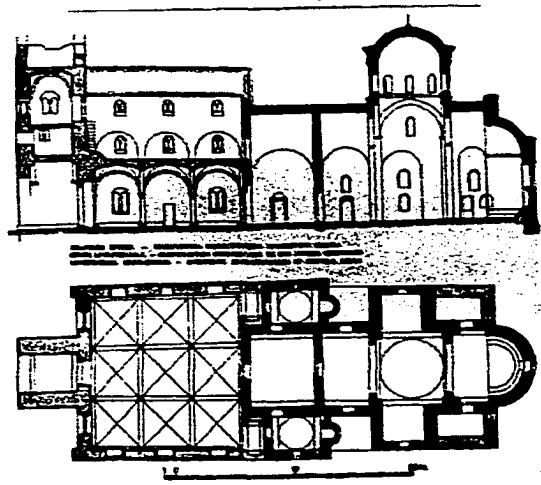
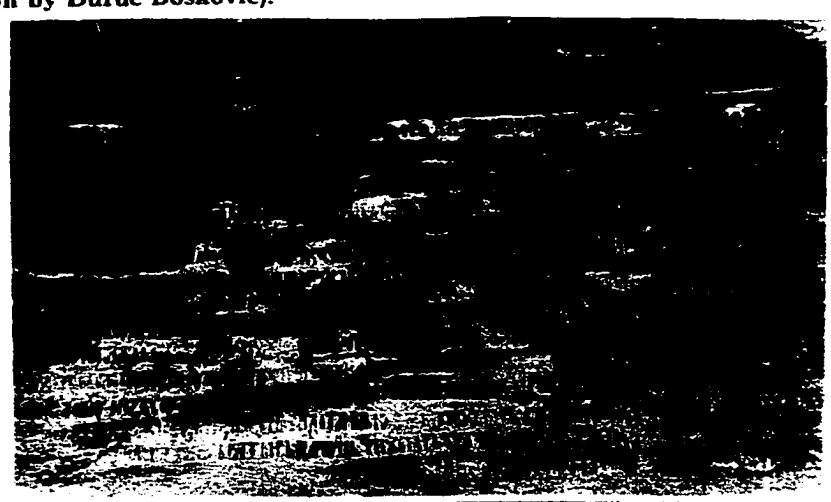
1) Žiča. Church of the Saviour. Exterior view from NE.



2) Žiča. Church of the Saviour. Medieval ground plan and longitudinal section (Hypothetic reconstruction by Đurđe Bošković).

3) Žiča. State of the building in 1828 (Drawing).



4) Žiča. Entrance vault below the tower: Inscription (partial view).

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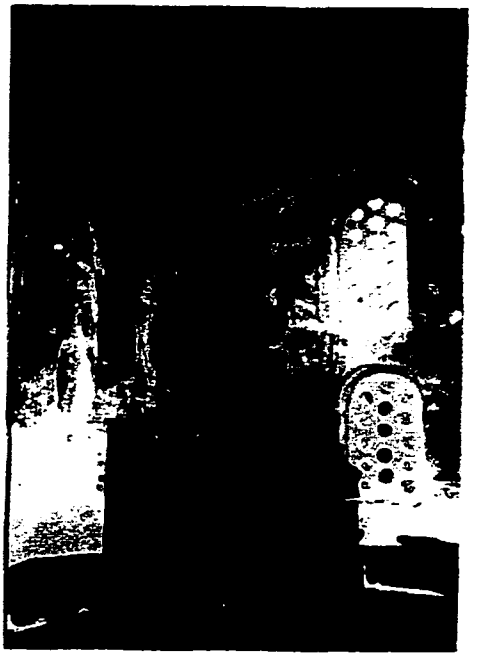

5) Žiča. South transept: East and south wall.

6) Žiča. South transept: South and west wall.

7) Žiča. South transept: South wall (Photograph made before 1935).

8) Žiča. North transept: North and east wall.

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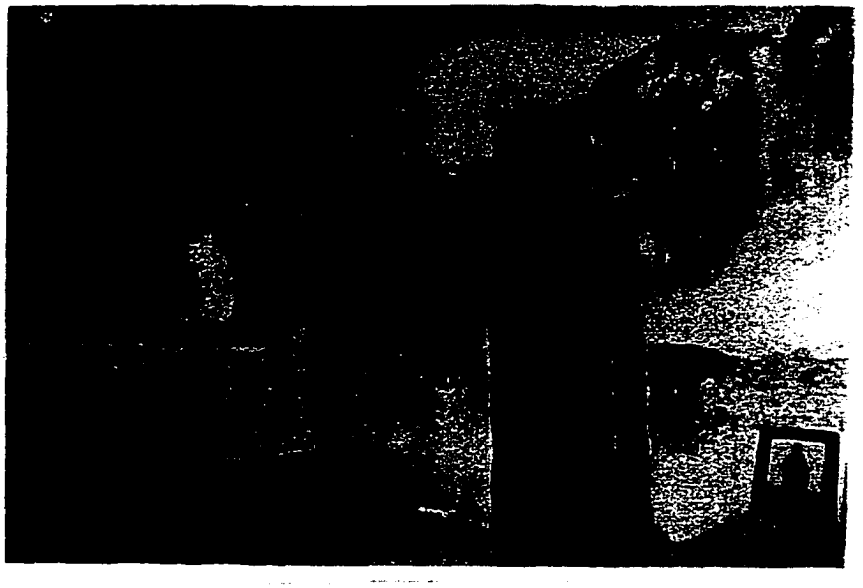
9) **Žiča. Naos (Old narthex): South and west wall.**



10) **Žiča. Naos (Old narthex): West and north wall.**

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11) Žiča. South transept. East wall: Crucifixion.

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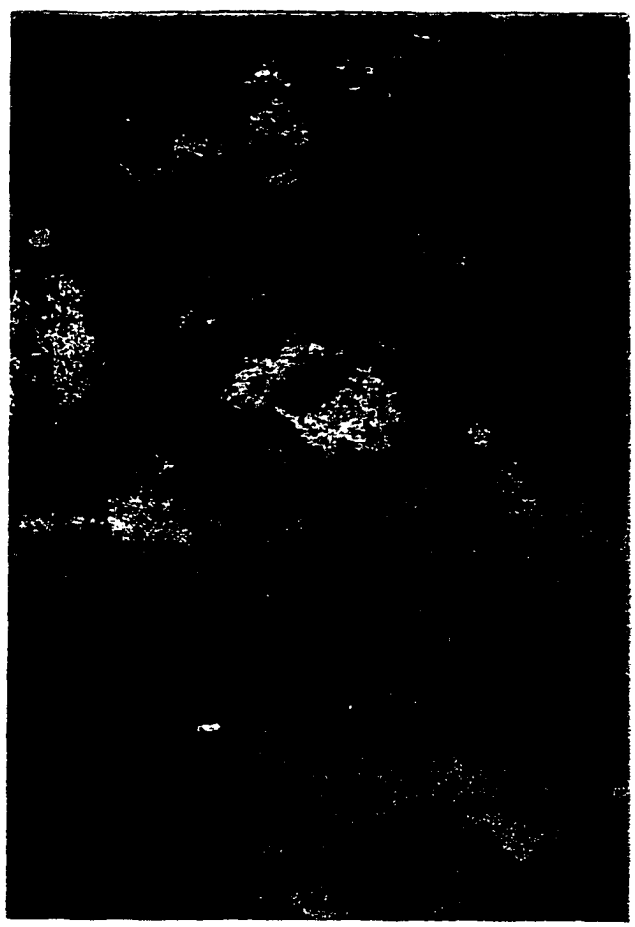
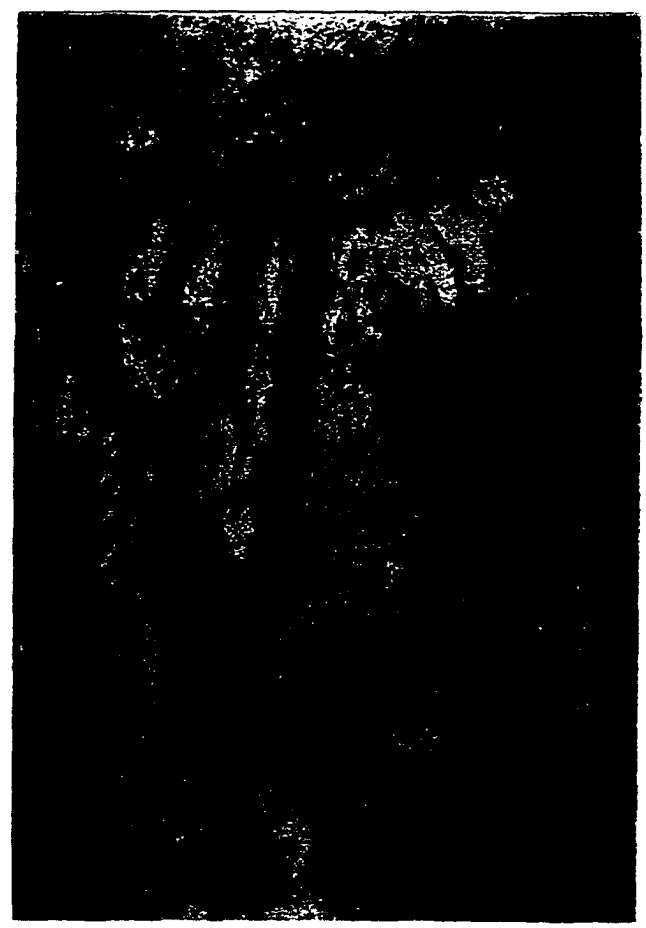
12) Žiča. South transept. East wall: Crucifixion (in color).



13) Žiča. Crucifixion. Christ, detail (in color).



14) Žiča. Crucifixion. Christ, detail (in color).

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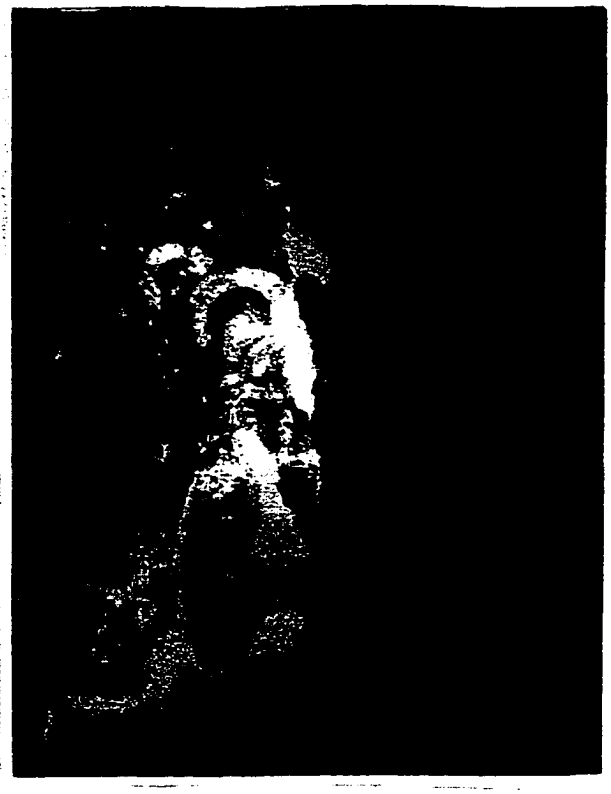
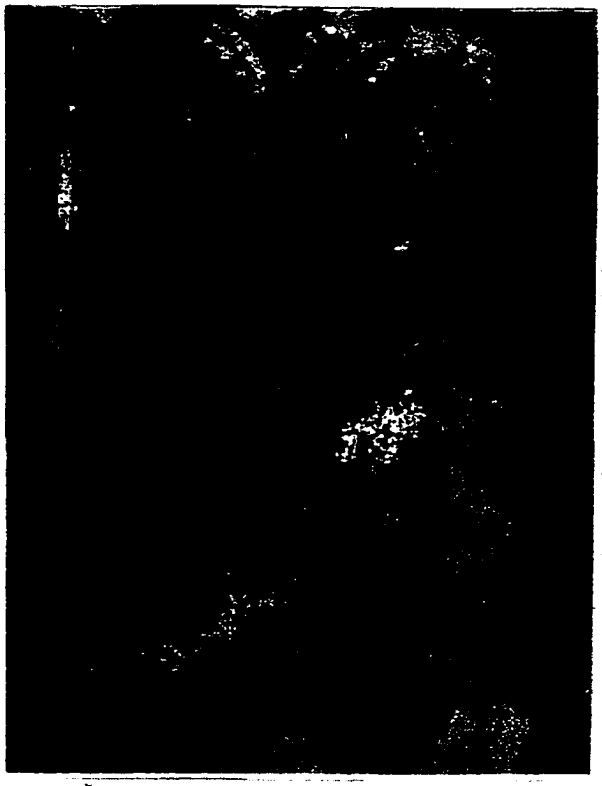
15) **Žiča. Crucifixion: Lower end of the cross (in color).**



16) **Žiča. Crucifixion: Left part of the scene (in color).**



17) **Žiča. Crucifixion. Left part of the scene: The Virgin and the Women (in color).**

18) **Žiča. Crucifixion. Left part of the scene: The Virgin, detail (in color).**

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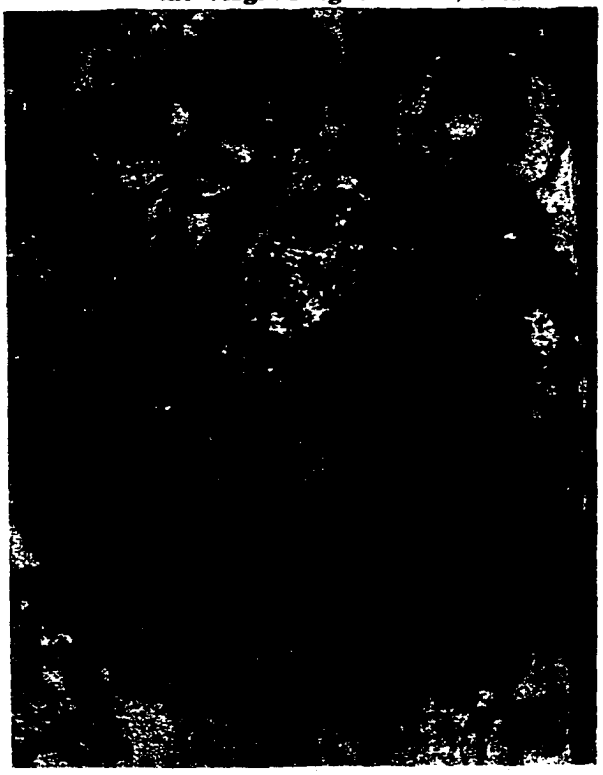
19) Žiča. Crucifixion. Left part of the scene: Garment below the Virgin's right elbow, detail.

20) Žiča. Crucifixion: Right part of the scene (in color)



21) Žiča. Crucifixion. Right part of the scene: St. John and the Centurion (in color).

22) Žiča. Crucifixion. Right part of the scene: John, detail (in color).

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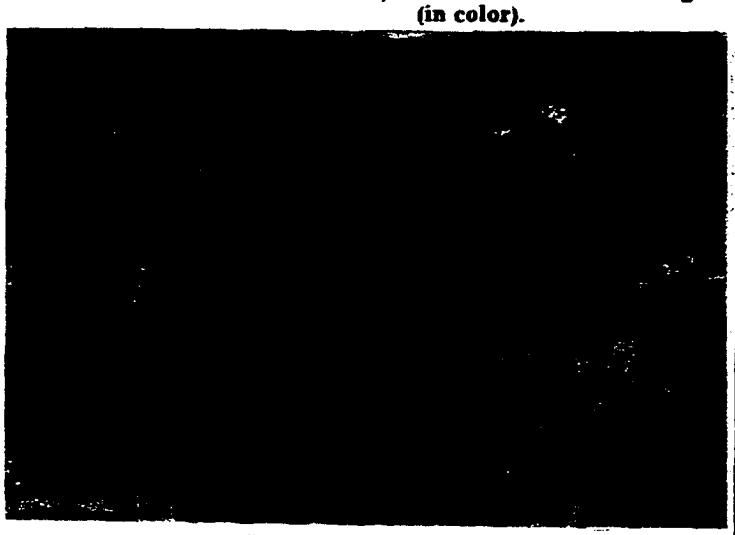
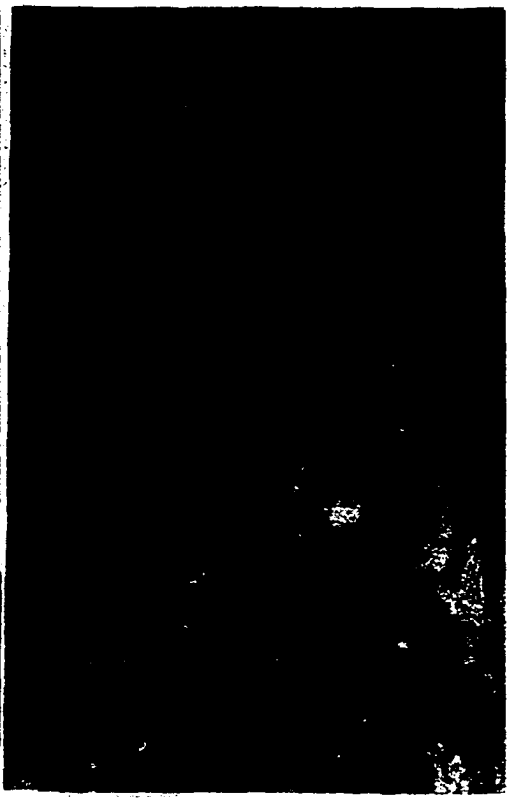
23) Žiča. Crucifixion: Angel above the left cross arm (in color).



24) Žiča. Crucifixion: Angel above the right cross arm (in color).



25) Žiča. Crucifixion: Upper right part of the scene (in color).

26) Žiča. Crucifixion: Bottom part of the scene (Photograph made before 1935).

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27) Žiča. Crucifixion: Inscription between Christ and the Virgin (in color).

29) Žiča. Crucifixion: Inscription between Christ and St John (in color).

28) Žiča. Crucifixion: Reconstruction of the inscription in Fig. 27.

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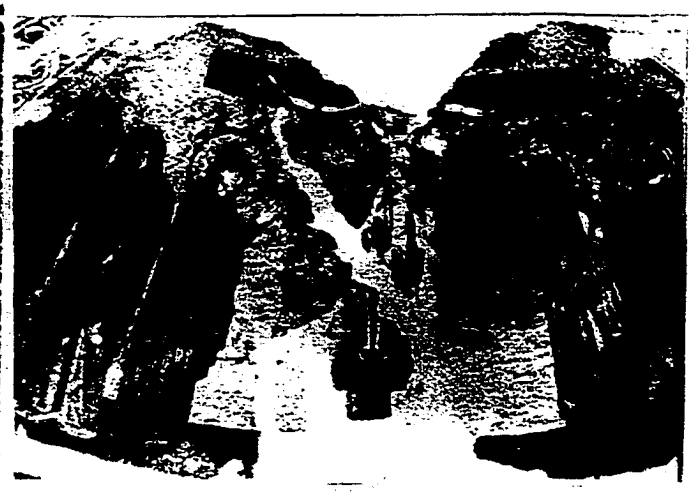
30) Rabbula Gospels (586). Florence, Bibl.Laur., Plut.I.56, fol.13 r: Crucifixion.

31) Gospel Book (13th cent.). Mount Athos, Iviron monastery, cod.5, fol. 209 v: Crucifixion.

32) Hosios Loukas. Catholikon (c.1000): Crucifixion.

33) Daphni (late 11th cent.): Crucifixion.

34) Bamberg Psalter (early 13th cent.). Bamberg, Staatsbibl., Bibl.48 (A II 47), fol.115: Crucifixion.



35) Chios. Nea Moni (1042-54): Crucifixion.

36) Gospel Book (end 11th cent.). Parma, Bibl. Palat., ms 5, fol.90 r, Scenes from the Life of Christ, detail: Crucifixion.

37) Gospel Book (1193). Venice, Libr. Mekhitaristes, Nr. 1635, fol.248v: Crucifixion.

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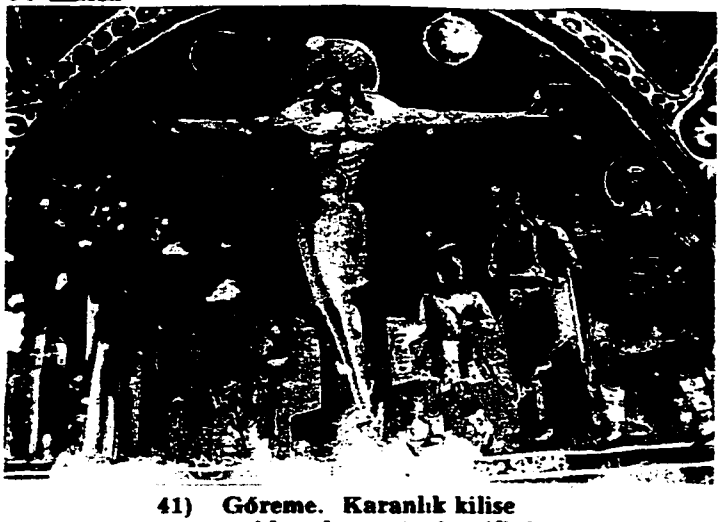
38) Kurbinovo. Church of St. George (1191): Crucifixion.

39) Steatite (12th - 13th cent.). Athens, Byz. Mus.: Crucifixion.

40) Soganlı. Karabaş kilise (1060-61): Crucifixion.



41) Göreme. Karanlık kilise (mid 11th cent.): Crucifixion.

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42) Book cover (12 cent.). Munich, Residenz, Reiche Kapelle. Enamel plate: Crucifixion.

43) Ivory triptych (mid 10th cent.). Paris, Cab. des Médailles: Crucifixion

44) Aquileia. Crypt of the Cathedral (c. 1200): Crucifixion.

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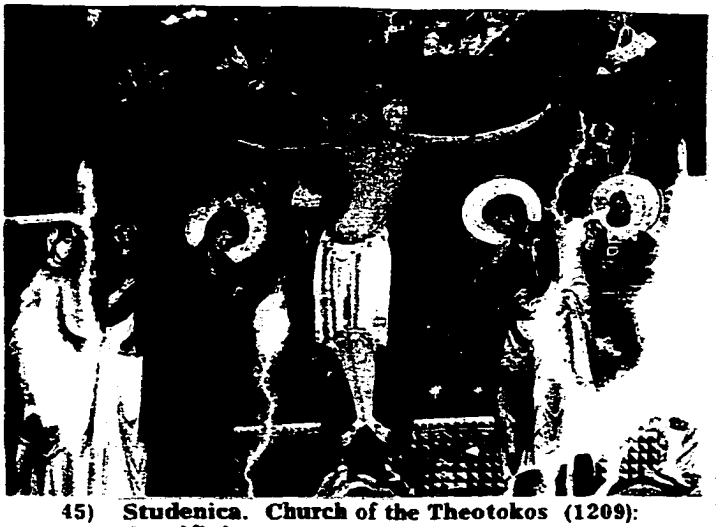

45) **Studenica. Church of the Theotokos (1209): Crucifixion.**

46) **Cyprus. Hermitage of St. Neophytos (c. 1200): Crucifixion.**

47) **Kastoria. Panhagia Mavriotissa (13th cent.): Crucifixion.**

48) **Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 880-3). Paris. Bibl.Nat. cod.gr.510, fol.30 v: Passion scenes.**

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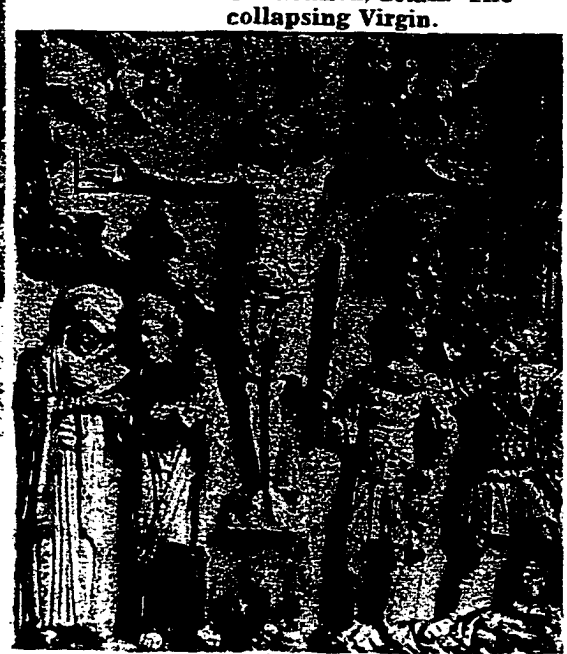
49) Mount Sinai. Icon (13th cent.): Crucifixion.

50) Patmos. Monastery of St. John the Theologian. (13th cent.).Crucifixion, detail: The collapsing Virgin.

52) Cologne. Relief from the Albinus shrine (c. 1186). Crucifixion, detail: The collapsing Virgin.

51) Sopoćani. Church of the Ascension (c. 1265). Crucifixion, detail: The collapsing Virgin.



53) Ivory (11th cent.). London. Victoria &Albert Mus.: Crucifixion.

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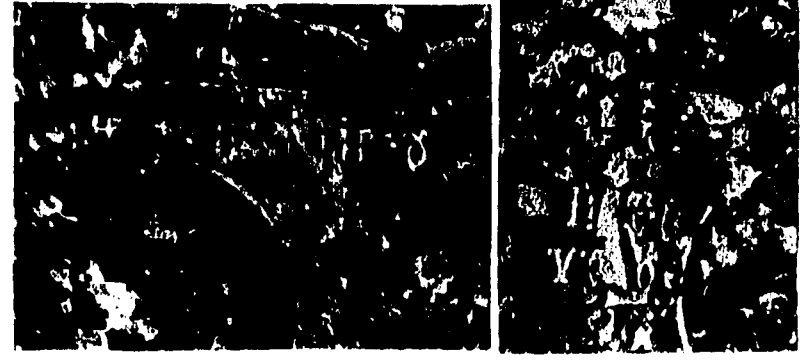
54) Nerezi. Church of St. Panteleimon (1164): Lamentation.

55) Ivory (end 10th cent.). Liverpool, Free Publ.Mus.: Crucifixion.

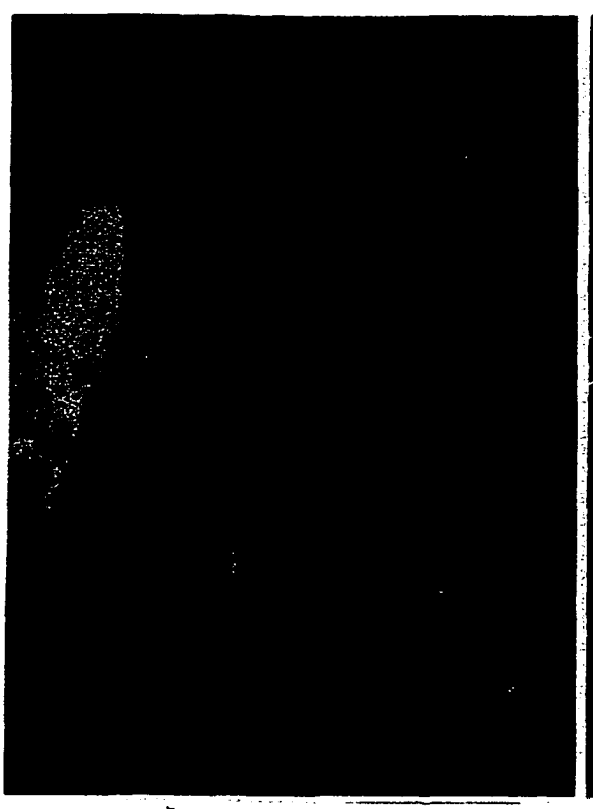
56) Psalter leaf, Tyrolian or Middle Frankonian (c. 1250). New York, Metr. Mus. Printroom: Deposition.

57) Kastoria. Church of St. Nicholas of Kasnitzis (12th - 13th cent.). Koimesis, detail: Apostle

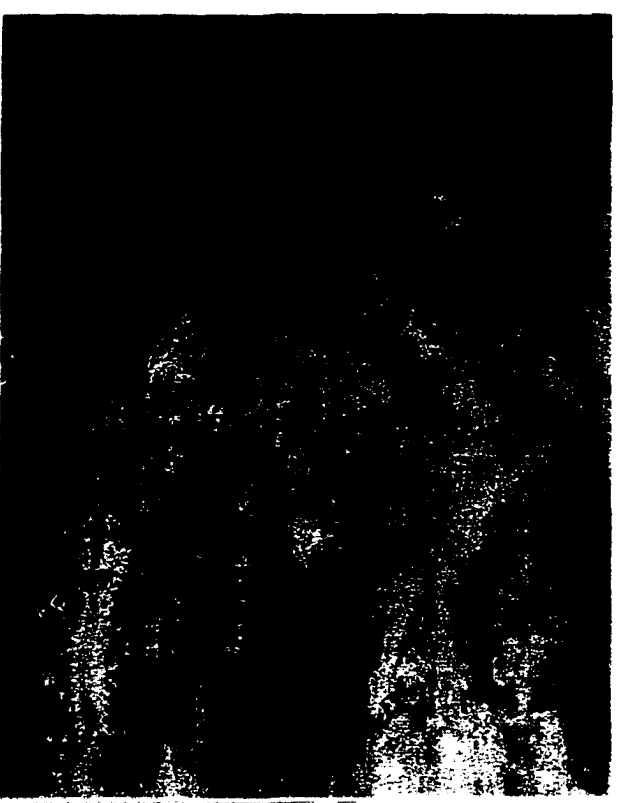


58) Soganli. Karabaş kilise (1060-61). Crucifixion, detail: 58a: Inscription

59) Žiča. North transept. East wall: Deposition of Christ from the Cross



60) Žiča. Deposition: Right part of the scene (in color).



61) Žiča. Deposition. Right part of the scene: The Women (in color).

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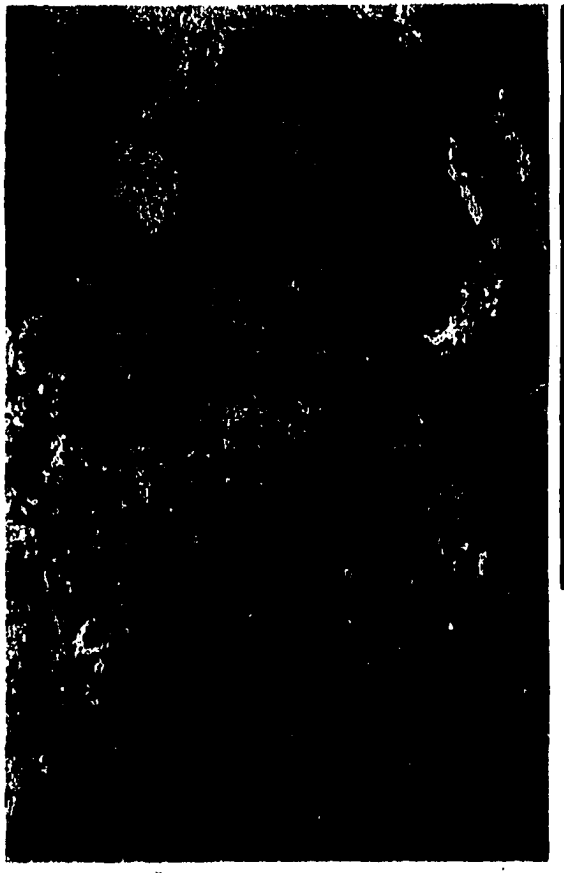
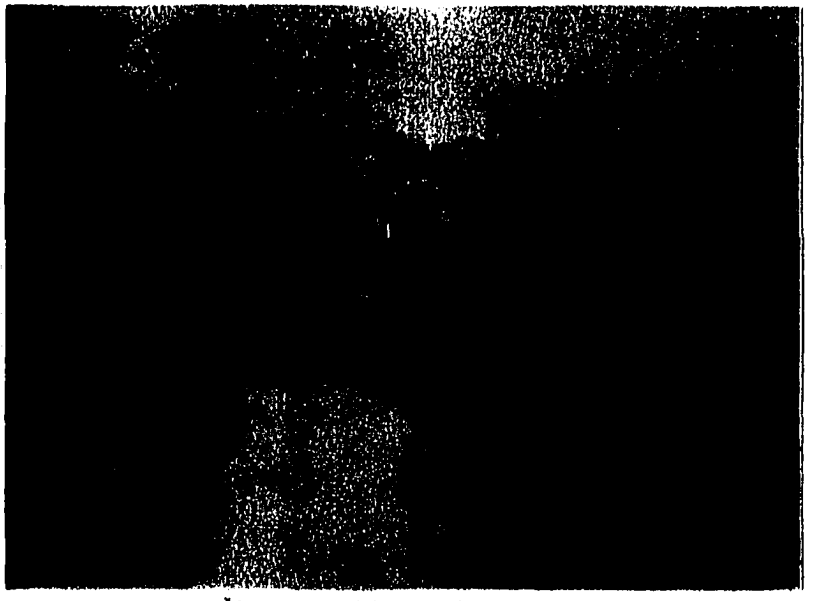


62) Žiča. Deposition. Right part of the scene: The Women, detail (in color).



63) Žiča. Deposition. Left part of the scene: Fragment in lower left corner (in color).

64) Reichenau. Codex Egberti (c. 980). Book of Pericopes

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65) Ivory (end 11th cent.). Utrecht, Erzbisch.Mus.: Deposition.

66) Ivory (11th cent.). London, Victoria&Albert Mus.: Deposition.

67) Lectionary (end 12th cent.). Berlin, Staatsbibl., cod.gr. quart 66, vol. 256 v: Deposition.

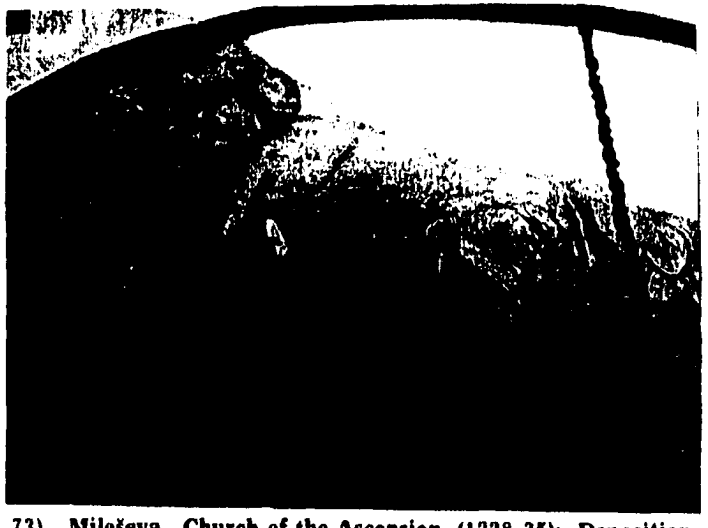
68) Göreme. Tokalı kilise (Old Church) (first half 10th cent.): Deposition.

69) Nerezi. Church of St. Panteleimon (1164): Deposition.

70) Ravello. Cathedral, bronze door. Bronze relief (1179). Barisanus of Thrani: Deposition.

72) Aquileia. Crypt of the Cathedral (c. 1200): Deposition.

71) Lectionary (second half 11th cent.). New York, Morgan Libr., ms 639, [illegible]



73) Mileševa. Church of the Ascension (1228-35): Deposition.

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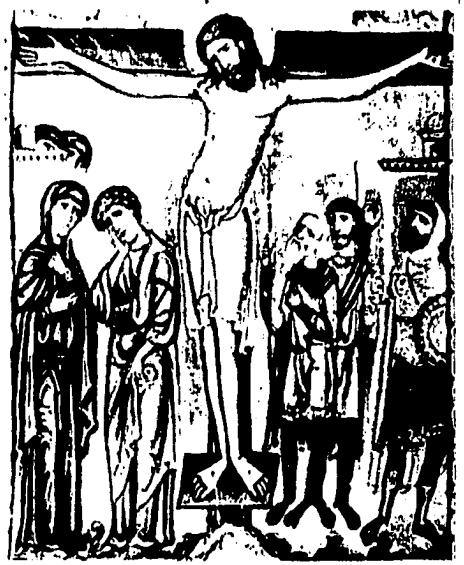
74) Gospel Book (10th cent.). Florence, Bibl.Laurent., Con.soppr.160, fol.114b: Deposition.

75) Cyprus. Hermitage of St Neophytos (c. 1200): Deposition.

76) Gospel Book (13th cent.). Mount Athos, Iviron, cod.5, fol.129 v: Deposition.



77) Psalter of Queen Melisende (1131-43). London

78) Mount Sinai. Icon (11th - 13th cent.): Crucifixion.

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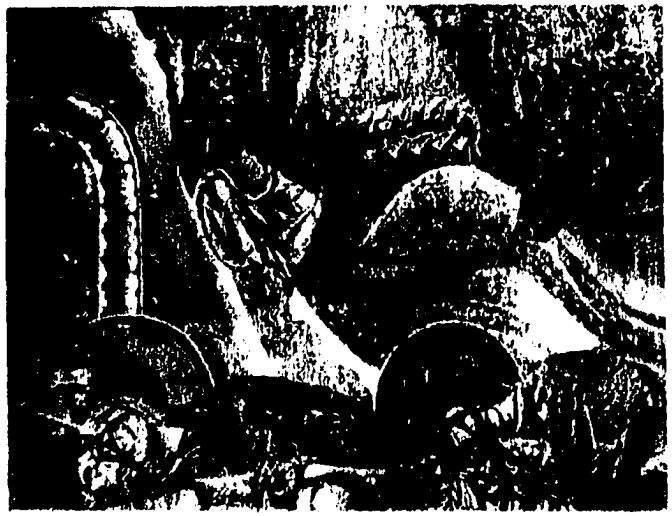
79) Lectionary (11th - 12th cent.). Rome, Bibl.Vat., ms gr. 1156, fol.194v: Lamentation, detail.



80) Kurbinovo, Church of St. George (1191): Lamentation, detail.

81) Gospel Book, Coptic (c. 1180). Paris, Bibl.Nat., ms copte 13, fol.85: Deposition.

82) Gospel Book, Syrian (1226). Syr.-Orthodox bishopric of Midyat, fol.216 v: Deposition.

83) Žiča. South transept. South wall: The Apostle Peter.

84) Žiča. South transept. South wall: The Evangelist Luke.

85) Žiča. South transept. West wall: Four apostles (Photograph made before 1935).

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86) **Žiča. South transept. West wall: First apostle from the left.**

87) **Žiča. South transept. West wall Second apostle from the left.**

88) **Žiča. South transept. South wall: The Apostle Peter (in color).**

89) **Žiča. South transept. South wall: The Evangelist Luke (in color).**

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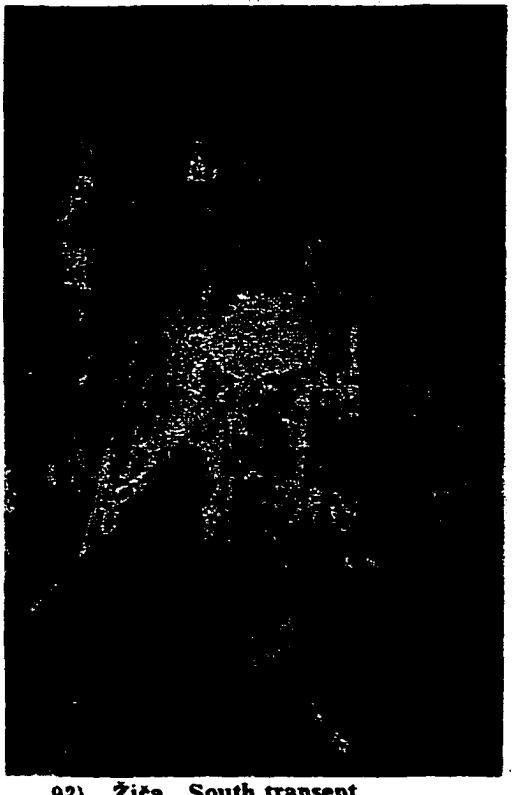
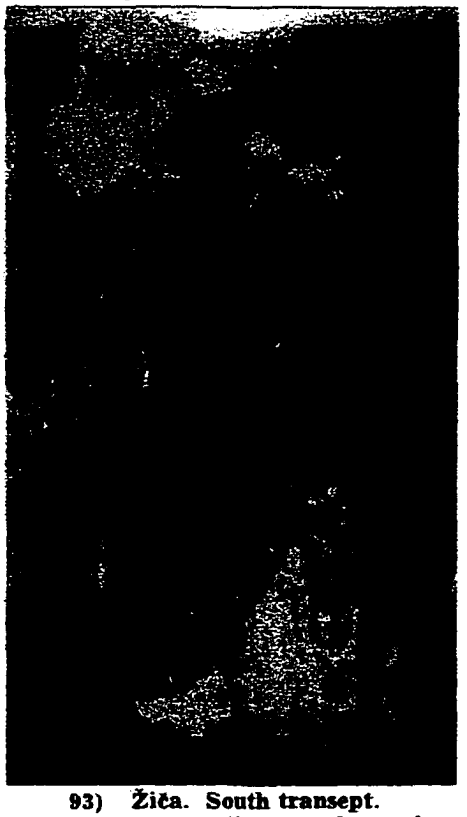
90) Žiča. South transept. South wall: The Evangelist Luke, detail (in color).

91) Žiča. South transept. West wall: First apostle from the left (in color)



92) Žiča. South transept. West wall: First apostle from the left. detail (in color).



93) Žiča. South transept. West wall: Second apostle from the left (in color).

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95) Žiča. South transept. West wall: The Apostle Simon, detail (in color).

94) Žiča. South transept. West wall: The Apostle Simon (in color).

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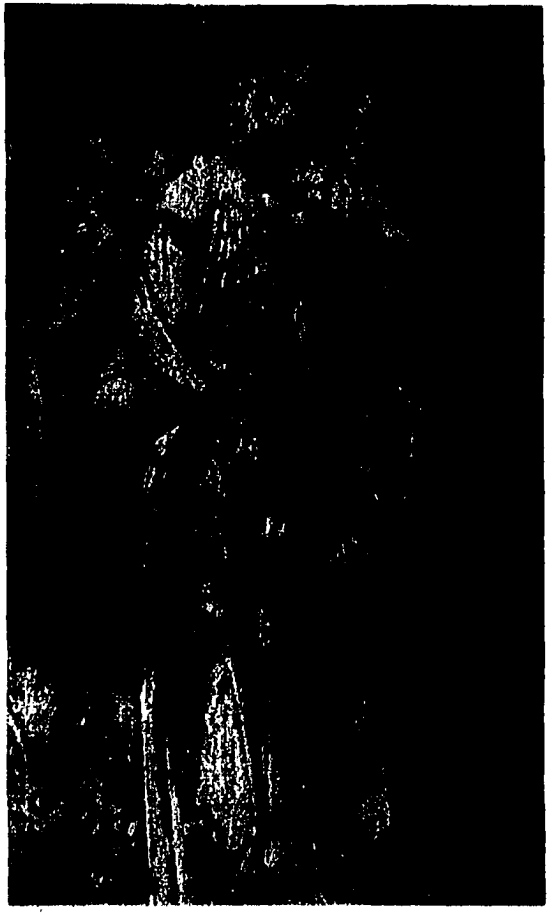
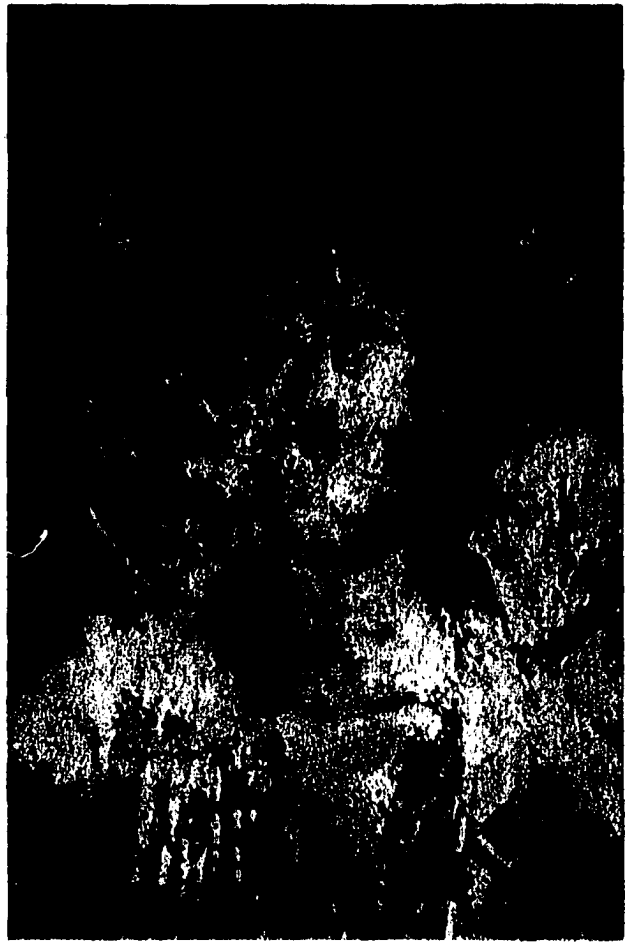


96) Žiča. South transept. West wall: The apostle o the right of Simon (in color).



97) Žiča. South transept. West wall: The apostle to the right of Simon, detail (in color).

98) Žiča. North transept. North wall: The apostle west of the window (in color).

99) Žiča. North transept. North wall: The apostle east of the window (in color).

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100) **Rome. Church of SS Cosma e Damiano (526-30). Presentation of Cosmas and Damian to Christ, detail: The Apostle Peter.**

101) **Rome. Arch of Constantine (c. 315). Oratio scene: Senators, detail.**

102) **Hosios Loukas (c. 1000): The Apostle Peter.**

103) **Studenica. Church of the Theotokos (1209). Communion of the Apostles, detail: The Apostle Peter.**

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104) Nicaea. Church of the Dormition (c. 1065): The Evangelist Luke, detail.

105) Serres. Metropolitan church (early 12th cent.). Communion of the Apostles, detail: The Evangelist Luke.

106) Kurbinovo. Church of St. George (1191). Ascension, detail: The Evangelist Luke.

107) Kiev. Cathedral of St. Sophia (1043-46). Communion of the Apostles, detail: The Apostle Simon.

108) Monreale. Cathedral (after 1183): The Apostle Simon.

109) Vladimir. Cathedral of St. Demetrius (c. 1195). Last Judgement, detail: The Apostle Simon.

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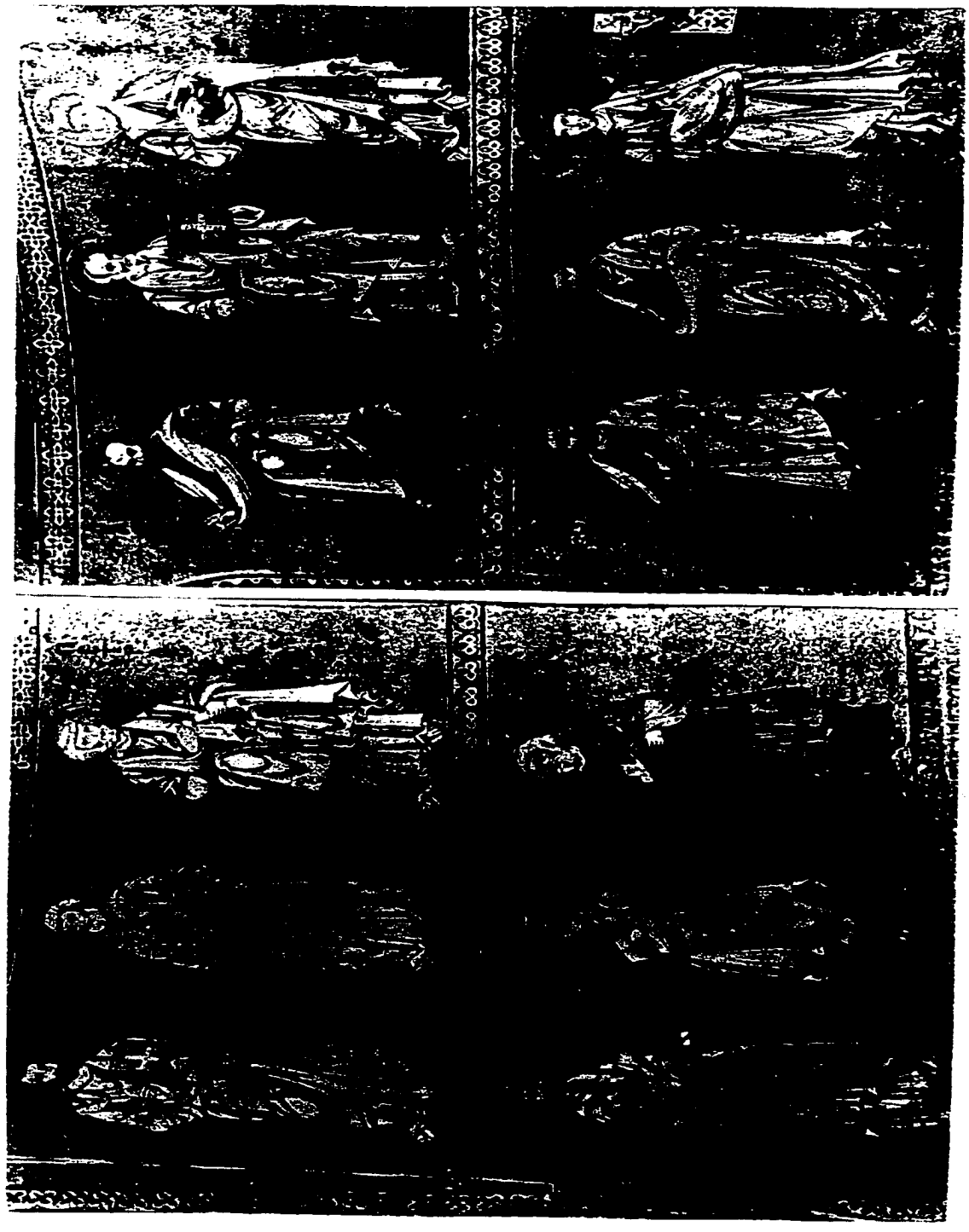

110) Cefalù. Cathedral (1146): The twelve Apostles.

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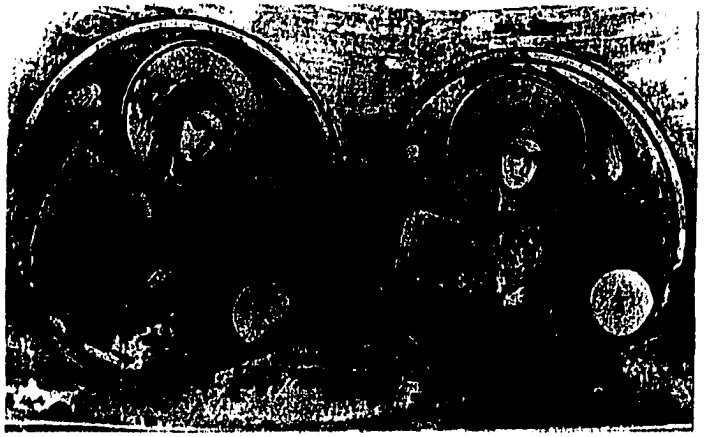
111) Žiča. Naos (Old narthex). South wall. Lunette: Archangel (in color).

112) Žiča. Naos (Old narthex). South wall. Lunette: Archangel (photograph made before 1935).

113) Žiča. Naos (Old narthex). North wall. Lunette: Archangel (in color).

114) Kiev. Cathedral of St. Sophia (1046-61): Archangel.

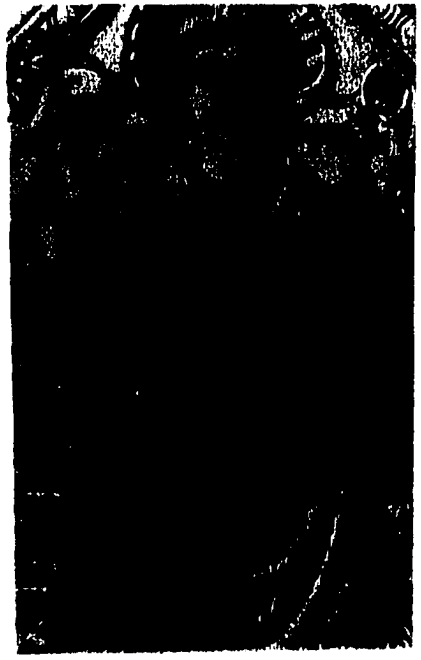


115) Cyprus. Lagoudera. Panagia Arakiotissa (1192): Archangels.

116) Cefalù. Cathedral (1148): The Virgin between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel.

117) Nicaea. Church of the Dormition (soon after 843): Archangels.

118) Coin, reverse (395-423): The Emperor Honorius.



119) Ivory diptych (517). Paris, Cab.d.Méd.: The consul Anastasius, detail.

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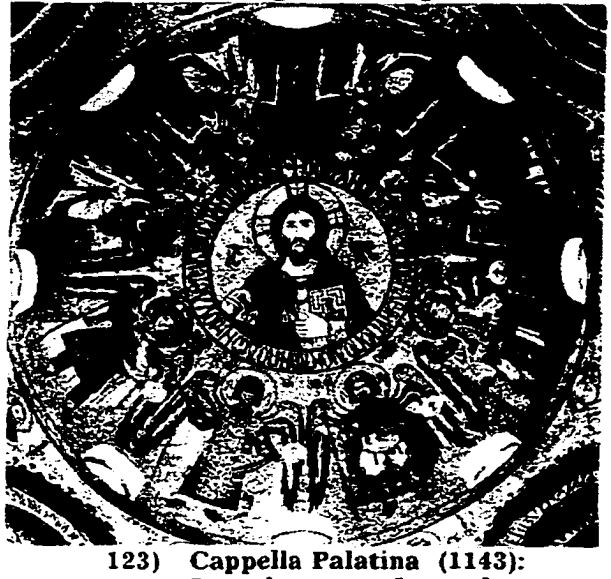
120) Ivory (c. 944). Moscow, Hist.Mus.: Crowning of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos.

121) Ivory plaque (9th cent.?). Berlin, Kaiser-Friedr.-Mus.: Crowning of an Emperor Leo.



123) Cappella Palatina (1143): Pantokrator and Angels.

122) Nerezi. Church of St. Panteleimon (1164): St. Gregory the Wonderworker (?).

124) Coin, reverse (527): Angel with globe and cross staff.

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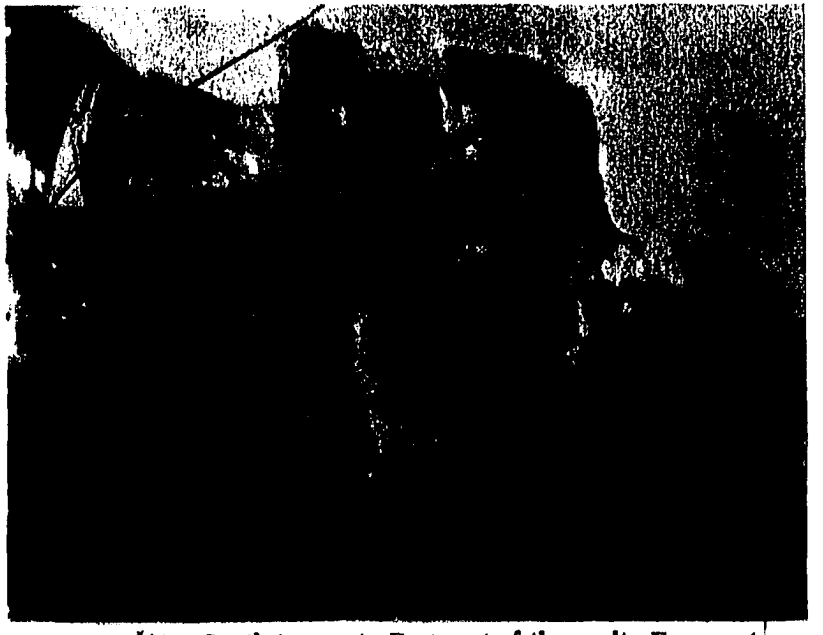
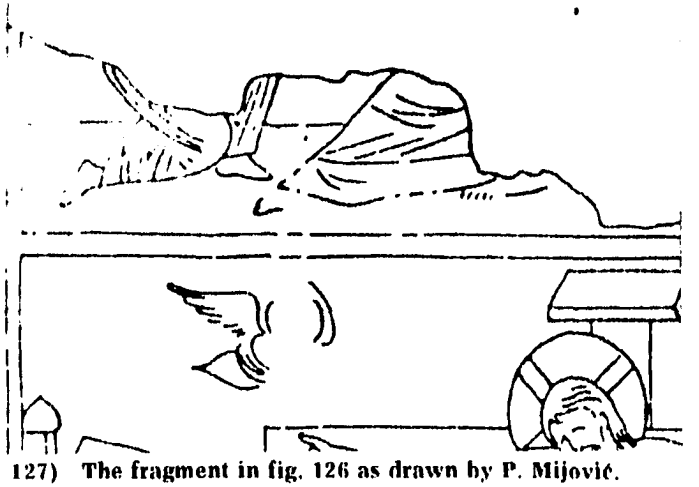
125) Monreale. Cathedral (after 1183): Lot and the two Angels, detail.



126) Žiča. South transept. East part of the vault: Fragment of the Apparition of Christ to the Women (?) (in color).



127) The fragment in fig. 126 as drawn by P. Mijović.

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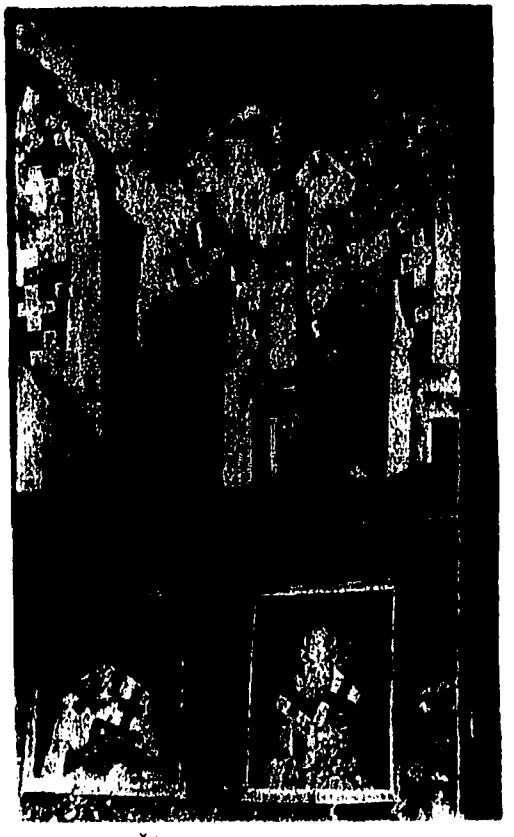

128) Žiča (early 14th cent.). Apse. South side: Church Fathers.

129) Žiča. Lunette over the door in the west wall of the naos (Old narthex): Virgin orans (destroyed).

130) Nicaea. Church of the Dormition (c. 1065): Virgin orans.

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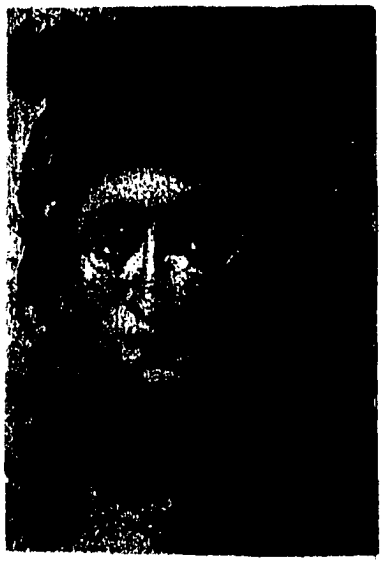

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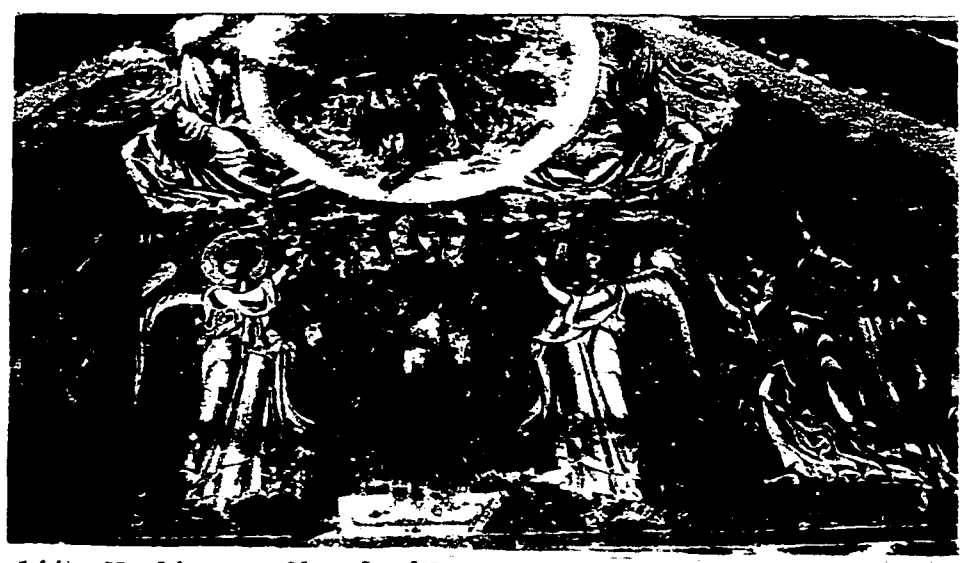

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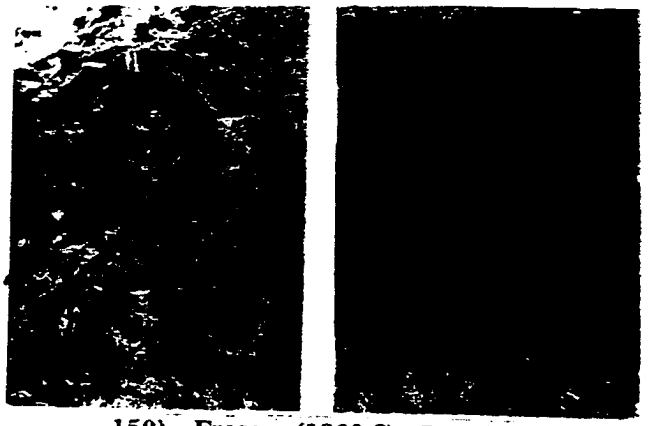

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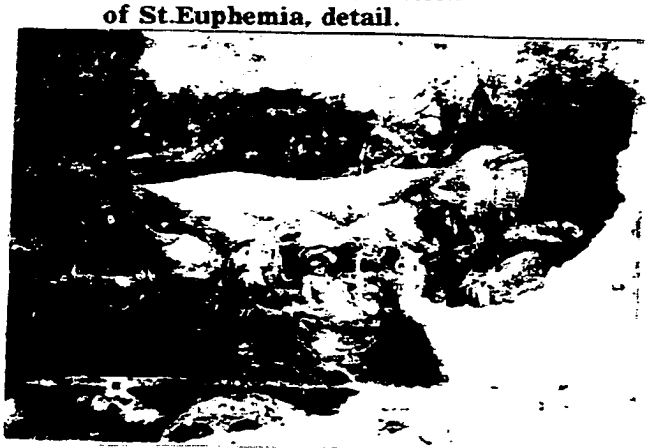

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ABBREVIATIONS

AH	Altserbische Herrscherbiographien, Graz
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington, D.C.
GNČ	Godišnjica Nikole Čupića, Beograd
HZ	Hilandarski Zbornik, Beograd
JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft, Vienna
SAN	Srpska Akademija nauka, Beograd
SANU	Srpska Akademija nauka i umetnosti, Beograd
SKA	Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Beograd
SZ	Svetosavski zbornik, Beograd
USJ	Umetničke spomenici Jugoslavije, Beograd
VI	Vizantološki institut, Beograd
ZRVI	Zbornik radova. Vizantološki institut, Beograd

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APPENDIX

A random list of 150 Byzantine, Oriental, and Western Crucifixion scenes dating from the ninth to the middle of the thirteenth century (see p. 55 and n. 150). Items marked with bold numbers are included in the illustration body and show their figure number in parentheses.

Byzantine and Oriental works

1. Icon, IX c. Mount Sinai. G.Sotiriou, Icônes, 1956, pl. 26.
2. Miniature, ca. 880. Homilies of Greg.Naz. Paris, Bibl.Nat., gr. 510, fol.30 v. Maguire, Sorrow (1977), pl. 37. - (see fig. 48).
3. Fresco, ca. 900. Kılıçlar kilise (Chapel 29), Göreme, Cappadocia. Marcell Restle, Byzantine wall painting in Asia Minor (1967), pl. 258.
4. Fresco, early X c. Tokalı Kilise (Chapel 7), Göreme, Cappadocia. Ibid., pl. 92.
5. Ivory, X c. Milan, Cathedral. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, Byzantinische Elfenbeinskulpturen, v. 2 (1934), no. 42.
6. Ivory, X c. Berlin, Staatl.Mus.Preuß.Kulturbesitz. Ibid., No. 72.
7. Ivory, X c. Dionysiou, Mount Athos. S.M.Peledanidis et al., The treasures of Mount Athos, v. 1 (1974), p. 45.
8. Ivory, mid X c. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, Byz.Elfenbeinskulpt., v. 2 (1934), no.39. - (see fig. 43).
9. Ivory, mid X c. London, Brit.Museum. Ibid., no. 38.
10. Ivory, mid X c. Hannover, Provinzialmus. Ibid., no. 40.
11. Ivory, 2/2 X c. Hannover, Kestner Mus. Ibid., no. 83.
12. Ivory, 2/2 X c. Paris, Louvre. Ibid., no. 99.
13. Ivory, 2/2 X c. Paris, Coll.Marquet de Vasselot. Ibid., no. 101.
14. Ivory, 2/2 X c. Kreuzenstein, Coll.Graf Wilczek. Ibid., no. 103.
15. Ivory, 2/2 X c. Erlangen, Univers.Bibliothek. Ibid., no. 104.
16. Ivory, 2/2 X c. Munich, Staatsbibliothek. Ibid., no. 105
17. Ivory, 2/2 X c. Hildesheim, Cathedral. Ibid., no. 106.
18. Ivory, 2/2 X c. Naples, Mus.Nazionale. Ibid., no. 107.
19. Ivory, 2/2 X c. New York, Metropol.Museum. Ibid., no. 108.
20. Ivory, end X c. Lille, Mus. Ibid., no. 162.
21. Ivory, end X c. Berlin, Staatl.Mus.Preuß.Kult. Ibid., no. 163.
22. Ivory, end X c. Nürnberg, Germ.Mus. Ibid., no. 164.

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23. Ivory, end X c. Lyon, Coll.Côte. Ibid., no. 165.
24. Ivory, end X c. Paris, Bibl.Nat. Ibid., no. 166.
25. Ivory, end X c. Baltimore, Coll.Walters. Ibid., no. 167.
26. Ivory, end X c. Baltimore, Coll.Walters. Ibid., no. 168.
27. Ivory, end X c. Pavia, Museo Civico. Ibid., no. 170.
28. Ivory, end X c. Ripaille, Coll.Engel-Gros. Ibid., no. 194.
29. Ivory, end X c. Liverpool, Free Publ.Mus, Ibid., no. 155a. - (see fig.55).
30. Ivory, end X c. Hannover, Kestner Museum. Ibid., no. 156.
31. Ivory, end)X c. Formerly Rome, Coll.Stroganoff. Ibid., no. 157.
32. Ivory, end X c. Leipzig, Mus.Kunsthandwerk. Ibid., no. 158.
33. Ivory, end X c. St Petersburg, Hermitage. Ibid., no. 159.
34. Ivory, end X c. Krakov, National Mus. Ibid., no. 161.
35. Ivory, end X c. Arnheim, Rijksarchiv. Ibid., no. 160.
36. Ivory, end X c. Hildesheim, Cathedral. Ibid., no. 169.
37. Ivory, X c. New York, Metropol.Mus. Ibid., no. 6.
38. Ivory, 2/2 X c. Berlin, Staatl.Mus.Preuß.Kult. Ibid., no. 102.
39. Ivory, end X c. Liverpool, Free Publ.Mus. Ibid., no. 172.
40. Ivory, X-XI c. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus. Ibid., no. 26.
41. Miniature, X-XI c. Homilies of Jacob of Sarug. Bibl.Vat.Syr.118, fol. 262 r. J.Leroy, Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures, conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient. Inst.français d'archéol.de Beyrouth, v. 77 (1964), pl. 54,1.
42. Ivory, ca. 1000. Baltimore, Coll.Walters. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, Byz. Elfenbeinskulpt. no. 117.
43. Mosaic, ca. 1000. Hosios Lukas, Katholikon. - (see fig. 32).
44. Ivory, XI c. Munich, Staatsbibl. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, Byz. Elfenbeinskulpt. no. 22.
45. Ivory, XI c. London, Vict.and Alb.Mus. Ibid.,no. 23. - (see fig. 53).
46. Ivory, XI c. London, Brit.Mus. Ibid., no. 27.
47. Ivory, XI c. St Petersburg, Hermitage. Ibid., no. 201.
48. Ivory, XI c. Pesaro, Mus.del Palazzo Ducale. Ibid., no. 211.
49. Ivory, XI c. Copenhagen, Nat.Mus. Ibid., no. 28.
50. Fresco, 1/2 XI c. Samanlıgı kilise, Belisirama, Cappadocia. Restle, Byz.wall painting (1967), pl. 517.
51. Fresco, 1/2 XI c. Kılıçlar Kusluk (Chapel 33), Göreme, Capadocia. Ibid., pl. 285.

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52. Fresco, 1042-46. Kiev, St Sophia. G.Logvin, Sofia Kievskaia (1971), pl. 109.

53. Mosaic, 1042-56. Nea Moni, Chios. E.Diez and O.Demus, Byzantine mosaics in Greece (1931), pl. 114. - (see fig. 35).

54. Fresco, mid XI c. Çarıklı kilise (Chapel 22), Göreme, Cappadocia. Restle, Byz. wall painting (1967), pl. 209.

55. Fresco, mid XI c. Elmalı kilise (Chapel 19), Göreme, Cappadocia. Ibid., pl. 183.

56. Fresco, mid XI c. Karanlık kilise (Chapel 23), Göreme, Cappadocia. see fig. 41).

57. Miniature, 2/2 XI c. Gospel book. Parma, Bibl.Palat., palat. 5, fol. 90 r. Lazarev, Storia (1967), pl. 242. - (see fig. 36).

58. Fresco, before 1061. Karabaş kilise, Soganlı, Cappadocia. - (see fig. 40).

59. Fresco, ca. 1070. Saklı kilise (Chapel 2 a), Göreme, Cappadocia. Restle, Byz. wall painting (1967), pl. 31.

60. Fresco, ca. 1080. Triconch, Tagar, Cappadocia. Ibid., pl. 366.

61. Miniature, 3/4 XI c. Lectionary. Bibl.Vat., gr.1156, fol. 194 v. Millet, Recherches (1960), fig. 426.

62. Enamel, XI-XII c. St Petersburg, Hermitage. Bank, Byzantine art (1966), pl. 186-189.

63. Mosaic, end XI c. Daphni, Katholikon. Millet, Monastère de Daphni (1899), pl. 16. - (see fig. 33).

64. Cross reliquary, ca. 1100. St Petersburg, Hermitage. Bank, Byzantine art (1966), pl. 199-200.

65. Steatite, XI-XII c. St Petersburg, Hermitage. Ibid., pl. 153.

66. Miniature, 1131-43. Psalter of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem. London, Brit. Mus., Egerton 1139, fol. 8 r. H.Buchthal, Miniature painting in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (1957), pl. 8a. - (see fig. 77).

67. Enamel, XII c. Munich, Residenz, Reiche Kapelle. Weitzmann, Die Ikone (1978), pl. 16. - (see fig. 42).

68. Icon, XI-XIII c. Mount Sinai. Sotiriou, Icônes (1956), pl. 89. - (see fig. 78).

69. Steatite, XII c. Athens, Byz.Mus. Catalog of the 9th Exhibition of the Council of Europe (1964), pl. 110. - (see fig. 39).

70. Miniature, XII c. Gospel book, Armenian. Venice, Library Mekhitaristes, no.1635, fol. 248 v. Der Nersessian, Manuscrits (1937), pl. 28. - (see fig. 37).

71. Fresco, XII c. Hosios Lukas, Katholikon, crypt. Photo PJ.

72. Fresco, ca. 1183. Hermitage of St Neophytos, cell, Cyprus. Mango and Hawkins, St Neophytos (1966), pl. 89.

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73. Fresco, 1191. Church of St George, Kurbinovo, Macedonia. - (see fig. 38).

74. Fresco, 1199. Church of the Saviour, Nereditsa, Russia. Gosud. Russ. Muz., Nereditsa (1925), pl.42, 1

75. Fresco, end XII-early XIII c. Church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, Kastoria, Macedonia. Photo PJ.

76. Fresco, ca. 1200. Hermitage of St Neophytos, naos, Cyprus. Mango and Hawkins, St Neophytos (1966), pl. 32. - (see fig. 46).

77. Miniature, ca. 1200. Missal. Acre (?). Naples, Bibl.Naz., VI G 11, fol.96 v. Buchthal, Miniature painting (1957), pl. 51 a.

78. Fresco, ca. 1200. Cathedral of Aquileia, crypt. Otto Demus, Romanesque mural painting (1970), pl. 91. - (see fig. 44).

79. Mosaic, early XIII c. San Marco, Venice. Idem, Byzantine mosaic decoration (1948), pl. 53.

80. Fresco, 1209. Church of the Holy Virgin, Studenica, Serbia. - (see fig. 45).

81. Miniature, ca. 1220. Lectionary, Syrian. London, Brit.Mus., ms.add. 7170, fol. 151 r. Leroy, Les manuscrits (1964), pl. 90, 2.

82. Miniature, 1221. Lectionary, Syrian. Jerusalem, Convent of St Mark of the Syrians, ms.syr. 6 (olim 28), fol. 129 r. Leroy, Les manuscrits (1964), pl.100,2.

83. Miniature, 1226. Lectionary, Syrian. Midyat, Syrian-Orthodox diocese. Leroy, Les manuscrits (1964), pl. 214 r.

84. Miniature, 1229-44. Sacramentary of the Holy Sepulchre. London, Brit.Mus., Egerton 2902. Buchthal, Miniature painting (1957), pl. 56 c.

85. Fresco, 1/2 XIII c. Monastery of St John the Theologian, Patmos. Orlandos, He architektonike (1970), pl. 88. - (see fig. 50).

86. Fresco, XIII c. Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria, Macedonia. Moutsopoulos, Kastoria (1967), pl. 63. - (see fig. 47).

87. Fresco, 1259. Church of St Panteleimon, Boiana, Bulgaria. Photo PJ.

88. Icon, XIII c. Mount Sinai. Sotiriou, Icônes (1956), pl. 193.

89. Icon, XIII c. Mount Sinai. Ibid., pl. 194. - (see fig. 49).

90. Icon, XIII c. Athens, Byz.Museum, Catalog, p. 23.

91. Miniature, XIII c. Gospel book, Mount Athos. Iviron, cod. 5, fol. 209 v. Photo Nikoleris, Thessalonike. - (see fig. 31).

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Western works

92. Ivory, early IX c. Court School of Charlemagne, Narbonne. Schiller, Ikonographie, v. 2 (1968), pl. 368.
93. Ivory, end IX c. Italy. Vat.Mus. A. Goldschmidt, Elfenbeinskulpturen, v. 1 (1918), no. 181 a.
94. Ivory, ca. 900. School of Tournai. Berlin, Staatl.Mus.Preuß.Kult. Ibid., no. 161 e.
95. Ivory, early XI c. Echternach (?). Manchester, John Rylands Libr. Idem, v. 2 (1918), no. 29.
96. Ivory, early XI c. Echternach (?). Munich, Staatsbibl. Ibid., no. 30.
97. Miniature, early XI c. Sacramentary of Henry II. Munich. G.Cames, Byzance et la peinture Romane de Germanie (1966), pl. 39, 155.
98. Ivory, ca. 1000. Saxonian (?). Wolfenbüttel, Herzogl.Bibl. Goldschmidt, v. 2 (1918), no. 93.
99. Ivory, XI c. Northern Italy. Paris, Louvre. Idem, Elfenbeinskulpturen, v. 4 (1923), no. 142.
100. Ivory. XI c. Northern Italy. Salerno, Cathedral. Ibid., no. 126, 37.
101. Ivory, XI c. Northern Italy. Berlin, Staatl.Mus.Preuß.Kult. Ibid., no. 137 b.
102. Ivory, XI c. Northern Italy. New York, Metr.Mus. Ibid., no. 143.
103. Ivory, XI c. Northern Italy. Ibid., no.144.
104. Miniature, XI c. Sacramentary, Milan circle. Vercelli, Bibl.Capit. cod. 136. A. Boeckler, Abendländische Miniaturen (1930), pl. 66 b.
105. Ivory, mid XI c. London, Brit.Mus. Goldschmidt, Elfenbeinsklpt. v. 2 (1918), no. 31.
106. Ivory, mid XI c. Cologne. Darmstadt, Hess.Landesmus. Ibid., no.59.
107. Ivory, mid XI c. Cologne. Cologne, S Maria-Lyskirchen. Ibid., no.60.
108. Ivory, mid XI c. Cologne. Essen, Cathedral. Ibid., no. 58.
109. Ivory, 1/2 XI c. Liège. Brussels, Mus.des Arts decor. Ibid., no. 55.
110. Ivory, 1/2 XI c. Liège. Tongres, Cathedral. Ibid., no. 57.
111. Miniature, XI c. Sacramentary, St.Denis. Paris, Bibl.Nat., Lat.9436, fol. 16. Ph. Lauer, Les enluminures romanes des manuscrits de la Bibl. Nationale (1927), pl. 11.
112. Miniature, XI c. Catalan Psalter. Paris, Bibl.Nat., Lat.11550, fol. 6. Ibid., pl. 52.
113. Ivory, 2/2 XI c. Berlin, Staatl.Mus.Preuß.Kult. Goldschmidt, Elfenbeinsklptr., v. 2 (1918), no.141.

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114. Ivory, end XI c. Frankonian. Munich, Staatsbibl. Ibid., no. 152.

115. Fresco, ca. 1100. S Angelo in Formis, Italy. Schiller, Ikonographie, v. 2 (1968), pl. 348.

116. Ivory, ca. 1100. Darmstadt, Hess.Landesmuseum. Goldschmidt, Elfenbeinsklptr., v. 2 (1918), no. 128 d.

117. Ivory, ca. 1100. Belgian-Rhenish. London,Vict.and Alb.Mus. Ibid., no. 161.

118. Ivory, ca. 1100. Belgian-Rhenish. London, Brit.Mus. Ibid., no.163.

119. Ivory, ca. 1100. Belgian-Rhenish. Aachen, Cathedral. Ibid., no.167.

120. Miniature, early XII c. Missal, Western France. J.Plummer, Manuscripts Will.S.Glazier Coll., Pierpoint Morgan Libr., New York (1950), pl. 13.

121. Mosaic, 1128. San Clemente, Rome. Wilpert and Schumacher, Die römischen Mosaiken (1916/1976), pl. 117-118.

122. Miniature, 1140s. Italy. Florence, Uff.Gall. Gabin.dei Disegni, 3 E. K.Berg, Studies in Tuscan XII century illumination (1968), pl. 138.

123. Ivory, 1/2 XII c. London, Brit.Mus., Goldschmidt, v. 2 (1918), no. 137 b.

124. Ivory, mid XII c. Belgium. Sigmaringen, Fürstliche Samml. Idem, v. 3 (1923), no. 24.

125. Ivory, mid XII c. Belgium. Darmstadt, Hess.Landesmuseum. Ibid., no. 23.

126. Ivory, mid XII c. Belgium. Paris, Louvre. Ibid., no. 27.

127. Ivory, 1162-75. Spanish. Oviedo, Cathedral. Idem, v. 4 (1923), no. 79.

128. Ivory, XII c. Rhenish. Idem, v. 3 (1923), no. 88.

129. Ivory, XII c. Spanish? Paris, Louvre. Idem, v. 4 (1923), no. 106.

130. Ivory, XII c. German. St Petersburg, Hermitage. Idem, v. 3 (1923), no. 36.

131. Ivory, 2/2 XII c. German. Berlin, Staatl.Mus.Preuß.Kult. Ibid., no. 37.

132. Ivory, 2/2 XII c. Colognian. Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum. Ibid., no. 11.

133. Ivory, 2/2 XII c. Colognian. Cologne, Kunstgewerbemus. Ibid., no. 13.

134. Mosaic, after 1183. Monreale cathedral, Sicily. Demus, Mosaics of Norman Sicily (1950), pl. 71 A.

135. Silver relief, ca. 1186. Albinus shrine, Cologne. Schiller, Ikonographie, v. 2 (1968), pl. 506. - (see fig. 52).

136. Miniature, late XII c. Missal, German. F.Wormald and P.M.Giles, Illuminated manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

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(1966), pl. 5.

137. Ivory, end XII c. Cologne. Welfenschatz, Herz.v.Cumberland. Goldschmidt, Elfenbeinskulpt., v. 3 (1923), no. 47.

138. Ivory, end XII c. Cologne. London, Vict.and Alb.Mus., Ibid., no. 48b.

139. Ivory, end XII c. Saxonian. Trier, Cathedral. Ibid., no. 55.

140. Ivory, XII-XIII c. Ravenna (?). Paris, Mus.Cluny. Idem, Elfenbeinskulpt., v. 4 (1923), no. 147.

141. Miniature, ca. 1200. Gospel book, Speyer. Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek. Cames, Byzance et la peinture (1966), pl. 247.

142. Miniature, ca. 1200. New Testament, Lombardy (?). Plummer, Manuscripts Will.S.Glazier Coll. (1950), pl. 15.

143. Miniature, early XIII c. Psalter, Augsburg. Maihingen, Oettingen Wallerstein Bibl., I,2. 4o 19, fol. 11. H.Swarzenski, Deutsche Buchmalerei des XIII. Jahrhunderts (1936), pl. 700.

144. Miniature, early XIII c. Bamberg Psalter. Bamberg, Staatsbibl., Bibl. 48 (A II 47), fol. 115. Ibid., pl. 809. - (see fig. 56).

145. Fresco, early XIII c. Notre-Dame du Puy (Salle des Morts), Le Puy, France. Demus, Romanesque mural painting (1970), pl. 185.

146. Miniature, 1/4 XIII c. Sacramentary, Church of St George, Cologne. Cologne, Schnütgenmuseum, Catalog of the "Rhein und Maas" Exhibition, Cologne (1972), 3d ed., plate facing p. 325.

147. Ivory, 1200-50. Cologne. Stuttgart, Altertumssammlung. Goldschmidt, Elfenbeinskulptr., v. 3 (1923), no. 80 c.

148. Ivory, mid XIII c. Danish. Copenhagen, Nat.Museum. Ibid., no. 127.

149. Miniature, mid XIII c. Lectionary, Middle-Frankonian (?). New York, Pierpoint Morgan Libr., MS 299, fol. 5. Swarzenski, Deutsche Buchmalerei (1936), pl. 1013.

150. Miniature, ca. 1250. Psalter. Oxford, Bodleian Libr., ms All Souls' 6, fol. 5r. Schiller, Ikonographie, v. 2 (1968), pl. 410.

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Actions and positions of the hands of St John in the Crucifixion scenes examined

	Byzantium and the East (91)				The West (59)			
	Monumental painting		Minor art		Monumental painting		Minor art	
Century :	IX-XI	XII-XIII	IX-XI	XII-XIII	IX-XI	XII-XIII	IX-XI	XII-XIII
Number of items :	(14)	(12)	(49)	(16)	(0)	(4)	(23)	(32)
Left hand								
With book :	5	1	41	2	-	1	14	20
Without book :	9	11	8	14	-	3	9	12
Right hand								
Palm placed at cheek :	8	12	11	11	-	2	7	12
Back of hand supports chin :	-	-	8	2	-	-	4	9
Other gestures :	6	-	30	3	-	2	12	11
Actions of both hands are same as in Žiča :	-	-	8	-	-	-	4	7